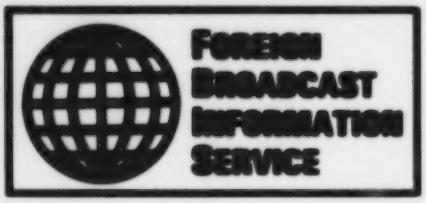

Daily Report

East Europe

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East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-209 *1 November 1993*

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Gypsies Contend With Poverty, Harassment

AU2910112693 Paris AFP in English 0416 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Vienna, Oct 29 (AFP)—The four million Gypsies of Eastern Europe, widely vilified as thieves and slackers, must now contend with long-term unemployment, poverty, racial harassment and official indifference.

National and local authorites seem little interested in the plight of their Gypsy minorities, preferring instead to cite what they say is a predilection for crime among Gypsies and their soaring birth rate.

Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar last month described Gypsies as "a problematic group, who are soon going to outnumber whites."

But East European Gypsies have begun to fight back, denouncing a surge in violence and xenophobia aimed at them and protesting the absence of educational and social programs tailored to their needs.

"Since the time of Empress Maria Theresa of Austria (the late 18th century), no one has done anything for our people," charged Emil Scuka, a former Czechoslovak deputy and head of the Czech Gypsy minority.

The human rights group Peoples in Peril, based in Goettingen, Germany, has alleged that in Romania—home to some two million Gypsies—"more than 20 pogroms have taken place since the fall of the dictator Nicolae Ceausescu in December 1989."

In the most recent incident, September 20, two Gypsies were lynched and a third burned alive in Hadareni, 400 kilometers (250 miles) north of Bucharest, in response to the killing of a Romanian farmer by a knife-wielding Gypsy.

In Bulgaria, most of the 600,000 Gypsies live in huts or in unheated run-down houses. Between 50 and 90 percent of them are without work and rarely receive unemployment benefit. Their estimated 200 ghettos are visited only by Bulgarian policemen.

In Hungary, Gypsies—who number between 500,000 and 800,000—have been the first victims of the collapse of communism in 1989. Employed largely as unskilled workers in state enterprises, they have been the first to be let go as such companies have closed down.

The Hungarian Health Ministry has estimated that half the country's Gypsy families have no steady income and 68 percent of the rest must make do with less than 50 dollars a month.

Of the 300,000 Gypsies in the Czech Republic, only 33,500 have actually declared their membership in the Romany minority. Most fear that by openly identifying themselves as Gypsies they will encounter crippling job discrimination.

At the beginning of October Czech skinheads tossed four Gypsies into the Otava River, one of whom drowned.

In Slovakia, where 450,000 Gypsies reside, parliament last August annulled legislation passed in the eastern city of Spisske Pohradie that clamped a curfew on Gypsies and authorized police to enter their homes looking for "migrants and other suspect individuals."

Of the total Slovak Gypsy population, only 80,000 have felt sufficiently confident of their status to officially acknowledge their ethnic heritage.

Italy Willing To Mediate Serb-Croat Disputes

94BA0061C Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 16 Oct 93 p 9

[Article by Inoslav Besker: "Italy: We Can Mediate... Only Upon Invitation by Zagreb"]

[Text] Rome—Italy has no intention of mediating between Serb rebels and the Croatian Government, at least not until official Zagreb asks it to do so. All the more so since Italy does not recognize the "Serbian republic of Krajina," which is seeking intervention, nor does it maintain any ties with it.

In order to put this position forward more clearly and decisively, Andreatta "postponed" the planned meeting with Trieste socialist senator Arduin Agnelli, who expressed his recommendation from Belgrade and from occupied Beli Manastir, together with the "Krajina" chetnik proposals.

Farnesina was more specific: "In order for mediation to take place, it must be requested by both belligerent sides, not just one of them. Moreover, our country does not recognize Krajina. With regard to the campaign by Senator Agnelli, he is not a diplomat, nor has the government in any way authorized him to engage in diplomacy."

Thus, several days after the initiative by irredentist Senator Agnelli, Italy very clearly distanced itself from this and used diplomatic vocabulary to say: First, in order for us to mediate, we must be asked to do so by both sides; second, we do not recognize the leadership of the Knin rebels, so that (to read between the lines) the two sides requesting mediation would have to be Belgrade and Zagreb.

It is indicative, however, that there is no mention of the fact that there are already two mediators between Belgrade and Zagreb, each one from an organization to which Italy belongs: Lord Owen from the EC and Stoltenberg from the United Nations. In other words, under certain conditions Italy would be glad to mediate, thus presenting itself as the main regional superpower of the southern European region—but not at any price.

Thus, no one here is taking Jarcevic's offer (which incorporates Belgrade's pilot proposal to federalize Croatia based on the model of the unborn Bosnia-Herzegovina Union) seriously, aside from the extremist circles that

advocate a "Serbo-Italian march on Zadar." Even the "mayor of Zadar" in the Italian irredentist version, Ottavio Missoni, has not joined Martic, Jarcevic, and Agnelli—who, nota bene, has been attacked in Rome from the right and the left for his open "Serbophilia," i.e., his approval of the declared war criminals: from the historic leader of the Christian democratic right, Senator Flamini Piccoli, to the Party of Communist Reform.

But this is not the end of contact between Belgrade and Rome: Vuk Draskovic has also requested a meeting with Andreatta. Unlike Milosevic, he does not seek a unitary Greater Serbia, but would agree to a genuinely federal structure—but within the same Greater Serbian borders. Even if it does not reject the possibility of talks, Farnesina is making it clear that this is not an option that it would support either.

Police Say Greeks Expel 20 Refugees From Corfu

AU2910093593 Tirana ATA in English 0904 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Tirana, October 29 (ATA)—The Greek police of Corfu captured 20 Albanian refugees, working in Corfu and its suburbs, and forced them to return in Albania through Camela ferry-boat October 28, according to Saranda border police sources.

Five refugees showed Albanian border police traces of their being misused by Greek police, Dilaver Hito Aliaj, border officer in Saranda port, told ATA reporter. Other four refugees said that they had regular documents and Greek police got possession of their documents. The expelled refugees are from Vlora, Berat, Gjirokastra and Saranda.

More Refugees Expelled From Athens

AU3010150393 Tirana ATA in English 0918 GMT 30 Oct 93

[Text] Tirana, October 30 (ATA)—Greek police has expelled about five thousand Albanian refugees working in Athens and its suburbs from October 19 to this day. The average of expelled refugees is 300-400 a day, whereas 2150 refugees altogether were forced to return on October 26. Some 40 Albanian refugees have had regular visa. According to reports the police have also torn passports with one year visa and have robbed the refugees of their money.

Berov Promises To Investigate Bribery Allegations

AU3010181993 Sofia BTA in English 1642 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Sofia, October 29 (BTA)—A committee coordinating signals on financial abuse was set up with the cabinet and started work a week ago, and a similar committee will start work next week, Prime Minister Berov said in parliament today during question time. He added the police had investigated cases of bribery in different institutions and sectors of the economy. It is difficult to find proof of corruption because bribes are credited to foreign bank accounts, which is an obstacle to investigators, Prof. Berov said.

This was Prof. Berov's answer to a question by Gincho Pavlov MP of the Fatherland Party of Labour (a coalition partner of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, BSP). Mr. Pavlov said MP's of the Fatherland Party of Labour held signals on corruption and actions detrimental to the national economy. Allegedly, Industry Minister Rumen Bikov and Deputy Prime Minister and Trade Minister Valentin Karabashev figure in the information held by the MP's. Mr. Pavlov handed the material over to Prof. Berov, who promised to go into it and answer questions next Friday.

As soon as I entered parliament's building, I heard Gincho Pavlov had made allegations of corruption against me and Mr. Rumen Bikov today, Deputy Prime Minister Karabashev told the press later on. "I don't know what he accuses me of, but whatever it is, he will have to prove it first," Mr. Karabashev said. "I would tell him my conscience is clear and I am doing what my country needs, though many people don't like it," Mr. Karabashev said. "I stand strong because I am proof against anything," he said.

Angel Dimov MP of the BSP-led coalition raised the issue of asset stripping in machine-building enterprises, in which commercial banks were allegedly involved. According to him, privatization in machine engineering is the aim of the private Multigroup which set up a new holding company to invest in the sector. Prime Minister Berov answered the government had no information about such a company and expressed doubt about its existence. He said asset stripping is impossible now because under the law the maximum holding for commercial banks is 10 percent of shares.

German Envoy Clarifies Kohl Statement

AU3010154193 Sofia BTA in English 1941 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Sofia, October 29 (BTA)—Vasil Baychev, chief of the European Integration Department of the Foreign Ministry, asked German Ambassador Christel Steffler whether Chancellor Kohl's statement before German businessmen on October 26 could signify a change in the policy of the German Government towards the association of central and east European countries, Bulgaria in particular, with the EC, BTA learned from the Foreign Ministry Press Office. According to SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, later quoted by Radio Deutsche Welle, Chancellor Kohl spoke against granting full membership in the EC to the former Yugoslav republics, Romania, Albania, and Bulgaria.

It will become possible for Bulgaria to join the EC when it meets the requirements, and association is the first step to full membership, according to Ambassador Steffler. Germany will stand by the Copenhagen decisions of the Council of Europe taken this June. The statement of Helmut Schaefer, minister of state at the German Foreign Ministry, before Radio Deutsche Welle, should be viewed in this light, the German ambassador said. In an interview yesterday Mr. Schaefer said no privileges should be given to individual countries, meaning the Visegrad Four. He said that western Europe should reconsider its policy of cooperation with eastern and southeastern Europe and that Bulgaria should not be ranked after Slovakia in its efforts to become associated with the European institutions.

Defense Minister Aleksandrov on Trip to UK

AU3010182293 Sofia BTA in English 2039 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Report by BTA correspondent Ani Sargavakyan on "Exclusive" interview with Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov]

[Text] Sofia, October 29 (BTA)—Bulgarian Defence Minister Valentin Aleksandrov today came back from a five-day visit to Britain. He and his British counterpart, Secretary of State for Defence Malcolm Rifkind, signed a memorandum on a programme for cooperation in defence in 1994-1995. On board the plane Mr. Aleksandrov spoke with BTA's Ani Sargavakyan.

Question: Mr. Aleksandrov, this is the first time a Bulgarian defence minister has visited Britain. Did this visit meet your expectations? What are the positive elements?

Answer: The essential thing is that we established relations which have been nonexistent so far and which I hope will develop further. I have the impression the visit was a success. I personally did not expect such friendliness and understanding for the problems of the Bulgarian Army on the British side. The relations between our countries in defence have been largely symbolic. This has changed with the signing of the memorandum. We see as a specific achievement the agreement for Bulgarian officers to study at the General Staff College in Camberley and the Royal College for Defence Studies. I am very glad about it, as these are generally recognized as the best places training senior national security personnel. We have been awarded one grant for the Royal College for Defence Studies and two grants for the General Staff College for 1995.

The British side promised to sponsor a lecture course at the newly-established Centre for Security Studies in

Sofia. They also showed interest in sending teachers, for whom we should only provide daily allowances and accommodation. If this happens and we can organize the first 40-day course next spring, we'll be able to report a success for the Armed Forces.

All high-ranking British representatives I spoke with commended Bulgaria on its enforcement of the Yugo-embargo. They recognized the heavy losses taken by Bulgaria and promised to make amends. It's another matter how this will be done.

Q: Can you comment on your talks with Secretary of State Rifkind?

A: At the beginning I emphasized that the differentiation between the Visegrad Group and the other eastern European states looks insulting to me as an European and a Bulgarian patriot. Mr. Rifkind responded spontaneously and categorically, saying NATO abandoned this line, endorsing the principle of the equal start at its latest meeting in Travemuende, i.e. it will no longer emphasize that Hungary and the Czech Republic are located closer and Bulgaria farther off. Initially, the emphasis was on bilateral cooperation and it moved further on on joint participation in a number of initiatives and programmes. Bulgaria is far ahead of the other countries, as we are taking part in 147 of them. Another essential point is the maintenance of peace, in theory and in practice, even only the manifestation of willingness to participate.

Q: Minister, did you mention the establishment of an Ankara-Athens-Sofia front in your lecture at the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies?

A: BULGARSKA ARMIYA (the Defence Ministry daily) ran the text of the lecture. I said relations among Ankara, Athens, and Sofia are a pillar of stability in this part of the Balkans. These relations are a factor strengthening NATO's southern flank, actually the alliance's weakest spot. They now resemble an isosceles triangle, which we would like to see transformed into an equilateral one. That is all I said. I am deeply convinced such a structure, no matter if it is within or outside NATO, would have a strong impact for strengthening security in the Balkans, reflecting on the conflict in former Yugoslavia and, less directly, on the conflicts in Moldova and possibly the Middle East.

Culture Minister Supports UNESCO Reforms

AU3010182393 Sofia BTA in English 1905 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Paris, October 29 (BTA)—Culture Minister Ivaylo Znepolski, who heads the Bulgarian delegation to the 27th session of UNESCO's general conference, delivered a speech at the plenary sitting this morning. He voiced Bulgaria's support for reforms in UNESCO and outlined this country's participation in UNESCO programmes. He greeted UNESCO's efforts to help central and east European countries overcome the difficulties of the transition period. Mr. Znepolski pointed out the indirect impact on education, culture and science of the losses Bulgaria suffers as a result of the observation of the Yugo-sanctions.

Mr. Znepolski met his French counterpart Jacques Toubon. The French side showed particular interest in the further promotion of cultural cooperation between the two countries.

National Bank Raises Interest Rate to 47 Percent

AU3010183393 Sofia BTA in English 2136 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Sofia, October 29 (BTA)—Increasing the interest rate to 47 percent yesterday, the National Bank of Bulgaria (BNB) warns that a further rise of inflation may push the rate further up, Stoyan Shukerov, member of the BNB Governing Board, told a news conference today.

According to Mr. Shukerov, today's steadying of the foreign currency market shows that bankers have interpreted the signal correctly. There is nothing alarming about the rise of the dollar against the lev, BNB Governor Todor Vulchev said. With inflation at 60 or 65 percent this year, the lev's devaluation is natural, yet the national currency remained comparatively stable, he said. The increase of the interest rate yesterday was a measure intended to prevent a self-propelled rise of the dollar, Mr. Vulchev said.

The BNB will publicize the results of a new review of cases of secret bank privatization in a month, Governor Vulchev said, answering a question on another hot issue. According to him, the data gathered by the Bank Consolidation Company is incomplete and today he assigned a working group to make a more detailed survey. The BNB governor showed journalists a big folder containing evidence on the cases of secret bank privatization.

Mr. Vulchev denied allegations that the central bank is selling its gold reserves. The gold is being transported to London to be processed according to international standards and then brought back to the country, the BNB governor explained. Today he appointed a commission to make an inventory and put in the bank vaults the gold reserves. The BNB has sold a considerable amount of silver and will continue to do so, Mr. Vulchev also said.

World Bank Representatives Make Proposals to Cabinet

AU3010182693 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Under the chairmanship of Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev, a final meeting took place at the Council of Ministers today between representatives of the government and the World Bank mission.

Mr. John Wilton presented a draft program for restructuring the economy and financial policy. The program

includes measures for speeding up privatization, setting the financial policies of enterprises on a sound footing, and providing credits for agriculture. The meeting was attended by Agriculture Minister Georgi Tanev, Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov, and banking and financial experts and specialists.

Mr. Karabashev stated that the government accepts the findings of the World Bank mission on the state of the national economy, and said that the measures proposed will be useful in solving a number of problems. The cabinet will hold a meeting to discuss the World Bank mission's program, and before 20 November this year the government will give its official viewpoint on all the issues covered in the document.

Gen Petrov Describes Relations With France

AU3010183493 Sofia BTA in English 2155 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Sofia, October 29 (BTA)—"Our relations with France in the military sphere are of a new type. They are based on the principles of equality, mutual respect, understanding and goodwill. These are relations of new kind between the armed forces of an East European country and a typically West European one with a strong democratic tradition and a serious contribution for the promotion of confidence and security in Europe," General Lyuben Petrov, chief of General Staff of the Bulgarian Army, told journalists this evening upon his arrival after a three-day visit in Paris at the invitation of Admiral Jacques Lanksad, chief of General Staff of the French Army.

At the meetings with Admiral Lanksad, with the commanders of the three types of armed forces and military officers in Paris, the two sides exchanged information on legislation in the military sphere, General Petrov said. The Bulgarian delegation was well acquainted with the plans to restructure the French Army and Gen. Petrov was glad the principles that Bulgaria observes underlie the French reform, the Bulgarian chief of General Staff said.

The general said he was not familiar with press reports of an established Sofia-Athens-Ankara military axis. There can be no axis, but the desire to play a stabilizing role in the Balkans manifested by the three nations is a fact, he said. The Bulgarian public knows what we have achieved in promoting trust and security on a bilateral basis with our southern neighbours, and I can see nothing new or surprising about it, the general said.

Klaus Discusses NATO, Tripartite Council

AU2810135593 Prague CTK in English 2205 GMT 26 Oct 93

[Text] Prague Oct 26 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said the integration of the Czech Army into NATO was a very long-term question.

A short-term question, he said, was a statement of intent from both sides. NATO had not been issuing unambiguous signals but he hoped that after NATO's January summit the signals would be clearer. In the medium-term, it was necessary to look for forms of partnership, and only then would the question of full membership arise, he said.

In the interview for Czech Radio, he also commented on transforming the tripartite council, comprising the government, the unions and employers, into a bipartite one where the state ceased to play a dominant role. He said that he nevertheless favoured regular consultation between the three social partners.

Regarding the sale of flats and housing, which would be made possible by parliament passing a bill on apartment ownership, Klaus said he thought it more rational to sell apartment buildings than flats. When asked about problems entailed by question of ownership of non-habitable housing space—such as stairways, lifts and attics, for example—Klaus said it was better if there was one definite owner.

Havel, Foreign Ministry Welcome UNSC Membership

LD2910213993 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1900 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] President Vaclav Havel has welcomed the election of the Czech Republic as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council [UNSC]. He said that this was an expression of the confidence in the Czech Republic and at the same time, it was the country's major obligation to assume a share of joint responsibility in tackling problems of the present day world.

The Czech Foreign Ministry regards the election as an important success of our foreign policy. According to its statement, the international community has thereby voiced their confidence in us 10 months after the Czech Republic, that had been accepted as a member of the United Nations on 19 January, came into existence. In the Security Council the Czech Republic intends to contribute toward the implementation of the aims and principles of the UN Charter and toward the strengthening of the security of all member states.

Klaus, Trade Unions Reach Agreement on Most Issues

LD2910181893 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Negotiations between representatives of the Czech-Moravian Chamber of Trade Unions and a government delegation led by Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus have ended at Hotel Atol near Prague. Further information from Jana Hrbkova:

[Hrbkova] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus announced after the negotiations there is no crisis between the government and trade unions. Vladimir Petrus, chairman of the Czech-Moravian Chamber of Trade Unions, added that the trade unions have again received proof that a realistic partnership dialogue with the government is possible.

Both the government and trade unions consider today's negotiations as very accommodating on both sides. A consensus was reached on the majority of problematic issues. Only the question of organizing civil servant [in trade unions] under special contractual conditions, covering according to Prime Minister Klaus only 7 percent of civil servants, remains open. This means that the standpoints of the two sides differ. The law is to become valid only from 1 January 1995, and both the government and the trade unions agree that there is a room for its improvement.

Havel Addresses Senior Officers on Army's Role

AU2910093693 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 27 Oct 93 p 2

[CTK report: "The Army Must Win the Citizens' Trust"]

[Text] Prague—The Czech Army must win more trust among the citizens, said President Vaclav Havel yesterday to a meeting of commanding officers at the Defense Ministry. He added that, as supreme commander of the Armed Forces, he will do everything he can to improve society's attitude toward the Army. One of the tasks awaiting the Czech Army is to increase its compatibility with the NATO armies, he continued. According to him, this compatibility does not only concern weapons systems, the method of command, and military thinking, but also the will of the Army to act in the interests of peace. NATO is an organization that incorporates members who are able "to give something and involve themselves," said the president to correspondents after delivering his speech. The Army is boosting the Czech Republic's reliability and prestige abroad by its willingness to create a system of collective security in Europe, he said in his address to army officers. He added that the Czech Army's achievements are appreciated far more abroad than at home.

Uhde Comments on Europe-U.S. Relations

LD2910214493 Prague CTK in English 2055 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Brno, South Moravia, Oct 29 (CTK)—A Europe not tied to the United States has not acquitted itself well, Chairman of the Czech Parliament Milan Uhde told CTK and Czech Radio here today, adding that he would have great fear of such a Europe, mainly as a citizen of a small nation.

He said that while he understood the anti-American mood in Europe, he also rejected it. Whenever Europe has turned its back to the USA and believed it could settle its affairs itself, the result has been unfortunate. Whenever America has withdrawn to its banks with the intention not to care about European matters, both sides were impaired practically and morally, Uhde stated.

He said that in debates with the U.S. Government and congressional leaders he had always stressed that the American military, economic, political and psychological presence in Europe was necessary.

He said he believed that the 1938 Munich Treaty could not have occurred under the aegis of the USA.

More Troops Leave for UNPROFOR Unit

AU2910220393 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Oct 93 p 3

[Report by "(per)": "Replacing the Czech UNPROFOR Unit"]

[Text] Prague—Another 90 Czech soldiers will fly today to the former Yugoslavia where they will replace the same number of troops in the Czech UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Forces] unit, which is part of the UN peace-keeping forces. Those who have just completed a six-month tour of duty in the Plitvicka Jezera region will undergo a medical checkup and then will return to their families.

A total of 225 soldiers are to be replaced; this is just under half the unit. Major Ludovit Cirok, commander of the UN peace-keeping forces' base in Cesky Krumlov where the Czech unit is being prepared, has told RUDE PRAVO that more troops will fly out on 29 October.

The government has already approved the expansion of the Czech unit from the current 500 to 1,000 troops, but parliament has to make a definitive decision on this issue at its next session. If it says yes, then the unit could be expanded next April, said Engineer J. Sila of the Defense Ministry's Press, Information, and Public Relations Department to a RUDE PRAVO reporter.

Commentary on Prospects of NATO Membership

AU2910112493 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 26 Oct 93 p 3

[Commentary by Martin Schmartz: "The Alliance Has Not Turned Us Down"]

[Text] No one questions the fact that integration into a defense organization, such as NATO, is very important for a small country like ours. Recently, however, several irrational factors have disturbed our debate on this issue. First, it was Yeltsin's so-called letter, in which the Russian president expressed, among other things, Russia's concern about possible isolation. Following this letter, a large number of speculative articles appeared in the press, and some Czech politicians issued unpremeditated statements. On the other hand, certain accommodating declarations issued by German politicians raised hopes for our early admission to NATO.

However, statements made by U.S. Secretary of State Christopher—namely when he said to Foreign Minister Zieleniec that NATO was not a closed club—or similar statements by German Foreign Minister Ruhe during his visit to Prague did not clarify what NATO's specific plans were regarding Central and East Europe. Last week, however, Stephen Oxman, U.S. assistant secretary for European and Canadian affairs, presented diplomats of the Visegrad Four countries with a NATO plan for transforming the alliance. This plan was drafted by a team headed by Shalikashvili, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff [title as received]. The suggestions made by U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin in Travemunde were based on this plan (and not on Yeltsin's letter).

The Czech Republic is highly interested in the part of the plan that deals with changing NATO's attitude toward the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. This change should consist of two stages. In the first stage—from which no country should be a priori excluded—practical cooperation should be established. It is expected, however, that not all the post-communist countries will have the political will and sufficient economic potential to take this challenge.

In the next stage, the alliance itself should be expanded. After the alliance's summit in January, we can expect that the door to NATO will be open. However, it is patently clear from the existing statements that no schedule will be fixed or a list of specific countries compiled. All the countries between the Sumava mountains and the Urals will be given equal chances for joining cooperation with NATO within the framework of the "partnership for peace" program. This cooperation will not provide any security guaranties to our country; neither will we have any obligations. Gradually, certain countries of the former Soviet bloc will be earmarked for NATO membership, given the guarantees, and will assume their obligations.

A gradual evolution is being stressed: The cooperating countries are expected to create conditions for their possible admission to NATO.

At the Travenmunde meeting, it has become extremely obvious that the United States and NATO have a different attitude from that of Minister Ruhe, who said that the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland could be quickly integrated into NATO. Germany's geopolitical interest in enlarging the alliance is self-evident: If NATO is expanded, Germany will cease to the be "the country at the borders," and its position within NATO will become stronger. Unlike Germany, however, the United States is stressing its global interests and has adopted the viewpoint that no country should be excluded from the European process, particularly Russia. Moreover, German Chancellor Kohl also gave his support to the "partnership for peace" program at the Bertelsman's Forum. German Foreign Minister Kinkel, who reproached Ruhe for his too radical statements, expressed his opinion that it would be a disservice to the pro-reformist forces in Russia if the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary were admitted to NATO.

What are the consequences for the Czech Republic? First, we should not be disappointed. The program drafted by the Shalikashvili team is not likely to satisfy those people who already saw the Czech Republic sitting at the NATO roundtable. We must realize that we will not receive the security guarantees, which we desire so much, simply for nothing. NATO and Russia are certainly going to divide the spheres of interests between themselves. Then, it will be important for us to be on the right side of the strategic line. Nevertheless, no matter how strongly we knock on the door of the alliance, we cannot push our admission forward. Our new geopolitical integration in Europe, which must take place after the disintegration of Eastern empires, will not depend on what we say, but on our technological potential and political stability, as well as the developments in the former Soviet Union.

After the most recent NATO summit, at which it was announced that the expansion of the pact was not the topical issue, we can see a change here. NATO has declared itself to be an open association and suggests peace cooperation. Our geographical position and the course of democratic reforms give us, and the other Visegrad Four countries, relatively good prospects for our full membership in NATO. The alliance has not turned us down; it has only conveyed a message that admitting new members is not a matter of an administrative decision but rather a gradual process.

Bankruptcy Proceedings To Be Initiated

AU3110210893 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 26 Oct 93

[Report by "(fr)": "'Offsetting Claims and Liabilities Will Stop, the Fun Is Over: Bankruptcies Will Follow,' Vladimir Dlouhy Says"]

[Text] Prague—The amount of liabilities that were offset against claims in the second round of offsets [zapocty] reached 18.8 billion korunas [Kc]. Of this, Kc8.8 billion in the Czech Republic, and Kc10 billion in the Slovak Republic. This is what Vladimir Dlouhy, minister of industry and trade, told reporters yesterday. This round began in both republics on 15 September. A total of 2,012 Czech, and 5,315 Slovak entities participated in it. The entire sum of liabilities amounted to Kc88.9 billion, and claims to Kc121.3 billion. The total amount of the National Property Fund's money used in the second round was Kc393 billion. It is easy to prove that after the first round the level of debt in the Czech Republic began to decline, Vladimir Dlouhy said. The state, however, does not want to initiate more rounds and spend more money.

"Now, the fun is over. The state took every possible step (offsets, for instance) to save the enterprises. In view of the small number of bankruptcies, I believe that the government should initiate more bankruptcy proceedings (in the sector of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, only six proceedings resulted in complete bankruptcy). I want you to take seriously the fact that, in all likelihood, the government will initiate bankruptcies," Vladimir Dlouhy said. Bankruptcies can be initiated by three different entities: the banking sector, the National Property Fund, and companies themselves, Deputy Minister Radomir Sabela told HOSPODARSKE NOVINY. "We inquired in the large banks, whether they had outstanding claims that are difficult to recover and whether they were prepared to solve the situation by initiating bankruptcy proceedings. The answer was yes to both questions. It seems that the Czechoslovak Commercial Bank and the Investment Bank are better prepared for bankruptcies than the Commercial Bank and the Czech Savings Bank," R. Sabela said. Having the majority in several companies, the National Property Fund can cede its rights to the founding ministries in certain cases. According to Sabela, this will allow the state to initiate bankruptcy proceedings against the debtors. The bankruptcy commission—consisting of officials from the Ministry of Industry, Finance Ministry, Ministry of the Economy, and others—can also consider other mechanisms. We want the companies to understand that the party is over, and that bankruptcies will certainly take place, R. Sabela said. We are not afraid of the domino effect, he added. If there is a domino effect, then the government has the wherewithal to alleviate such a process, such as writing off the costs [odpis do nakladu], or buying companies' debt.

International Committee on Intelligence Established

AU2810175493 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 25 Oct p 2

[Report by "ina": "The Former KGB Allegedly Influences East European States"]

[Text] Prague—The former Soviet state security, the KGB, continues to have a significant influence in the surrounding states, including the Czech Republic. That is a claim of members of the recently established International Committee for Legislation On and Control of Secret Services, among the deputy chairmen of which is the former chief of the U.S. intelligence service, CIA, William Colby. According to the members of the committee, former KGB agents no longer focus on politics, but influence, above all, business circles and the economic sphere.

"Approximately one-quarter of the staff left the KGB after 1991, when the service was terminated. These people are now in private enterprise and are often connected to various criminal organizations that operate in several countries," another deputy chairman of the Committee, Jaroslav Basta, former deputy director of the Federal Security and Information Service told us.

According to Basta, the KGB and its successor organizations—the Ministry of Security, for instance, or the Russian intelligence service—probably placed their agent network in the state administration to be able to manipulate their own business operations.

The International Committee for Legislation On and Control of Secret Services was established, Basta says, mostly because the civilian control of these services is insufficient and the legislative measures often contravene citizens' rights.

"The Committee, which has no executive powers, will publish the illegal activities of intelligence services. Moreover, it will initiate legislative changes in the instances of intervention in the rights of citizens," Jaroslav Basta said.

Kovac Addresses Council on Political Situation

LD2810152393 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Concluding address by President Michal Kovak before the Slovak National Council session in Bratislava on 27 October, with introductory passage by station correspondent—recorded]

[Excerpts] President Michal Kovac took part today in the Slovak National Council session. In his address, he explained his comments on the returned bill on restitution of church property and also discussed the internal political situation. [passage omitted]

After the discussion, President Kovac delivered the concluding address. [passage omitted] The second part of his address dealt with the current political situation in our country. In this connection, Michal Kovac said, among other things:

[Kovac] I will deliver a report on the state of the society to the Slovak National Council at the end of the year or in the beginning of next year. Allow me today to at least touch upon our current political situation.

By concluding the coalition agreement between the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the Slovak National Party [SNS], several months of minority government are coming to an end. I want to believe that this signals a better and more peaceful future.

Chairmen of the coalition, so far, have not given me proposals for new members of the government, but I expect that this will happen within the next few days. I hope I will receive proposals with which I will be able to agree.

A minority government is not unusual in democratic regimes. But we have to bear in mind that we are still merely strengthening our young state, we are still creating its political and economic institutions and, almost from the very foundations, we are creating the international position of our republic. All this is taking place in a complicated economic situation caused by domestic and foreign factors when we are faced with the incomplete transformation of our post-communist economy into a market economy.

In this situation, more than at any other time, a stable government is needed, which can lean on a reliable majority in parliament. The two coalition partners realized this very clearly at the local and district levels. They exerted pressure on their leaderships to find a way to each other and to reach an agreement. This is a positive phenomenon in our political scene, which witnesses the strengthening of democratic principles of creation of politics inside the individual political entities.

It seems to me that the coalition agreement creates prerequisites for cooperation of the two parliamentary parties at the government level. This cooperation should also create prerequisites for Slovakia to become a politically stable country in which all the civic freedoms and democratic institutions are guaranteed and which grants legislative and political guarantees for a successful economic cooperation with advanced countries, including guarantees for foreign investments.

The extent of tasks and problems that we must solve, however, exceeds the powers of two political parties and requires a broader political and social base for constructive cooperation. Without broad cooperation, nobody is capable of leading our society out of the present crisis. I appeal, therefore, to the government coalition not to close in on itself when tackling vital tasks, but constantly and patiently to expand the foundations of cooperation. This must take effect, above all, toward the opposition, but also toward trade unions and other groups of citizens. I appeal also to the parliamentary opposition and other critics of government not to see in it its opponent or even an enemy. I appeal to all to give up confrontational approaches and to replace them with a dialogue of partners and, as for the opposition, also by constructive criticism and review.

For this cooperation truly to be implemented in parliamentary practice, one has to get rid of bias and animosity on both sides. Unfortunately, they have accumulated ever since the times of sharp political confrontations in the past election period. We must not forget that we are a new state and that the international community is closely examining our actions. The decisive contours of the picture about ourselves are not drafted only by our adversaries, but, above all, our government, deputies, the president, political entities, and so on.

Defense Minister Cited on Talks in Ukraine

LD2910214393 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Excerpt] We have already informed you that Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak spent yesterday and today on an official visit to the Ukraine. Shortly after returning home by air, he gave a news conference in Bratislava. The purpose of his visit was to sign an agreement on cooperation in the military sphere between the two countries. Besides meeting his counterpart Vitaliy Radeckyy, Imrich Andrejcak also met with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko.

[Begin Andrejcak recording] During our talks we tackled, or opened, the question of assessing the possibilities of joint research or updating the technical equipment currently used by the two armies. I proposed to them to have a detailed look at products of the Slovak arms industry that have been updated recently and are more modern that their present equipment.

All the three officials with whom I met showed great interest in cooperating with Slovakia. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Foreign Minister Views International Standing

AU3010153493 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Oct 93 pp 1, 12

[Interview with Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik by Leopold Moravcik; place and date not given: "Nobody Took Away Our Chance"]

[Text] [Leopold Moravcik] A possibility of the change in the post of the Slovak foreign minister has been recently discussed again. Nevertheless, as I can see, you are still sitting in your chair. Is it a symptom of guaranteed continuity in the Slovak foreign policy embodied in the minister who will stay in the chair longer than seven months?

[Jozef Moravcik] I am convinced that the Slovak foreign policy will continue regardless of the identity of the minister. The orientation adopted in foreign policy is firmly rooted in theconsciousness of this ministry and its foreign service. Moreover, I am convinced that Slovakia has no other option than to follow the route it chose. The identity of the minister is more of a technical question than anything else. Whether or not it is I who will have the honor of implementing this policy is certainly not essential.

[Leopold Moravcik] You have recently participated for the first time in a UN General Assembly session in New York as Slovak foreign minister. How would you describe the atmosphere of this year's session and the talks with respect to our government's policy both at home and abroad?

[Jozef Moravcik] It is a very inviting atmosphere for diplomacy. The chance to express not only one's own views on the plenary session but, above all, the opportunity that exists nowhere else—to contact many influential politicians, speak about things that are truly the focus of attention for global or regional political reasons.

One can be more specific regarding the talks with individual politicians. For the politicians with whom I spoke, our politics are comprehensible and they accept it. We met with understanding concerning specific questions on our integration into Europe, our concept of security policy, and our joining Europe's security system. In contact with non-European countries, Slovakia is really accepted as a partner, with whom the world wants to cooperate. I have good reason to express it unequivocally: Nobody took away our chance to be a good, dependable partner. We have this chance. We are more closely watched than other states because we are an unknown entity on the international scene. Therefore, it is, above all, up to us to take advantage of this opportunity. That, however, is the sphere where domestic and foreign policies meet.

[Leopold Moravcik] During your sojourn in New York and shortly before the Vienna session of the Council of Europe, the American CSCE published a report on human rights and democratization in Slovakia. After several days, the distribution of this document was halted, nevertheless its negative content must already have affected the world public. How can the origin of such a document and its intentions be explained?

[Jozef Moravcik] It is a very sensitive area of our foreign policy. Of all the meetings I attended in this context, the meetings with representatives of the U.S. Department of State stand out. In fact, it was only during these meetings that I heard certain critical comments. We have to accept the fact that this stand exists on the American side. It has to do specifically with freedom of the press. There are concerns that our government is taking steps that might mean the revival of government influence on the media. Other comments pertained to the pace of privatization. We had to explain that the intention of the government is not to slow down the privatization but rather to speed it up. There are certain technical problems here, however, with the clarification of the methods used that to a certain degree slowed down the process. There is also the question of dealing with the problems of ethnic minorities, but they clearly understand the problem as a bilateral one. In other words, they understand the problem as being not only Slovak, but also Hungarian.

To go back to the heart of the question, the U.S. Administration is very sensitive regarding the issue of human rights. We must reckon with this and realize that the response to some well-meant measures does not necessarily have to be favorable, and we have to pay much more attention to these issues, explain them, make our measures clear, and give more room to presenting our arguments. I believe that it is also to a great extent a question of the presentation of our domestic policy because the criticism concerns, above all, measures within the state. The task of foreign policy is to pay more attention to communication with the world.

[Leopold Moravcik] Many discussions have recently focused on NATO in the context of Russian objections to speedy integration of former Warsaw Pact countries into the Alliance. Was this situation caused by the Central European countries themselves when acting as if they forgot the "Eastern dimension" of their politics, and apparently provoking suspicion in Moscow of attempts to isolate Russia from Europe?

[Jozef Moravcik] Focusing on the Visegrad Group, we cannot say that the East European countries are neglecting the Eastern dimension of their politics. I have the impression that all these states are oversensitive with respect to the relations with Russia. Another question is whether they should not exercise a more accommodating policy towards Russia. I believe that the platform of cooperation on which all these states are building, i.e. cooperation within the CSCE and the revival of trade links with the Russian Federation, is the right direction, and it is completely acceptable also from the point of view of our long-term interests in Russia and the rest of Europe. It is clear that

the whole world is interested in the continuation of democratic reforms in Russia, in the orientation of development toward the building of a democratic society, and is ready to do something to this end.

The integration of Central European countries into NATO is a momentous step. Hence it is only natural that they consider it also from the point of view of how it affects the domestic situation in Russia. So far, there are concerns regarding the conceivable detrimental effect on the development. Russian diplomacy is aware of this and uses it very cleverly. It is our goal to emphasize the political aspects of quickly integrating this area into the security structures of Western Europe. We have to continue working in this area just as decidedly and ardently as we have done so far.

[Leopold Moravcik] How do you see prospects for the further development of the Visegrad Group under the present conditions?

[Jozef Moravcik] The Visegrad Group, viewed from the perspective of political cooperation, is actually a free consultation forum. From the economic point of view, it is a somewhat stronger grouping because these states signed a treaty on forming a free trade zone. In any event, the Visegrad Four is neither an end in itself nor a substitute solution that would make up for integration into the EC. This grouping is important only to the extent of realizing the interests of individual countries represented, particularly as regards their integration into the EC and the security system, although the willingness to coordinate this integration is not equally strong in all the countries concerned.

[Leopold Moravcik] In the context of the Visegrad Four, the relationship with Hungary remains a very sensitive issue. You mentioned recently that you are going to discuss with [Hungarian Foreign] Minister Geza Jeszenszky a new treaty that is to include recognition of existing borders. Some Hungarian politicians, however, call for a revision of the Trianon Treaty and play before the elections on the national string. Is it reasonable, in this preelection atmosphere, to expect the talks to succeed?

[Jozef Moravcik] I believe that certain fundamental components of the future arrangement that should eventually lead to signing the basic treaty between Hungary and Slovakia, could be adopted prior to the elections. Favorable international conditions have been created—what I have in mind is that, above all, the foreign political interests of Hungary and Slovakia force both countries into settling their mutual relations as soon as possible. The two countries are significantly complicating their position on the international scene by displaying the existence of mutual problems and lack of conformation in seeking solutions. The sooner they will show their political will and interest in agreeing and reaching an effective consensus, the smaller will be this adverse impact, and the easier will be the realization of foreign political interests, particularly those concerning integration into the security systems about which we spoke earlier.

[Leopold Moravcik] At a recent summit in Vienna, the Council of Europe member states adopted a resolution in which they take a stand on the question of ethnic minorities. Hungary expressed discontent with its content and considers it only the beginning of the process. What does the Slovak Government intend to do regarding the ethnic minorities problems?

[Jozef Moravcik] There are many things going on in this respect. We have lots of room to consistently promote our stand on the minorities issue in the CSCE, Council of Europe, and also in the context of the initiative of the French Government, which has in the form of a draft European stability pact actually become a platform for the EC. We have already clearly expressed the basic orientation of our politics in this sphere. If I may reiterate briefly, we should participate in drafting the European standard for minority rights that is to be the basis for possible bilateral talks. We favor emphasizing individual rights above all, because we are convinced that an emphasis on collective rights would not help to create an agreeable atmosphere in the relations among the people in the regions where the minorities live. Another principle on which we insist is the inviolability of the border.

[Leopold Moravcik] A reduction in the number of Slovak embassies worldwide has been rumored recently. Which countries would be affected by these measures?

[Jozef Moravcik] So far, this material is at the preparatory stage, and it would be premature to speak about the measures specifically. Actually, until it is approved by the government, it is classified material. These measures should be only temporary because in the long-run, we consider the size of our representation network to be minimal. We reached these conclusions also by comparison with other countries that are close to our conditions in terms of size and population.

[Leopold Moravcik] Ambassadors have not yet been appointed for many of our foreign missions. Does Slovakia not have enough able diplomats or are we talking about a temporary situation?

[Jozef Moravcik] Since our diplomacy has existed for less than a year, what we have managed can be assessed as good, particularly in comparison with countries that have had to face the same problem. It is true that it would be desirable for us to complete the entire network as soon as possible. This "as soon as possible" is doable by the end of the year.

Business Licenses Agreement Signed With Czech Republic

LD2910181093 Prague CTK in English 1712 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Bratislava, Oct 29 (CTK)—Czech and Slovak Justice Ministers Jiri Novak and Katarina Tothova signed today an agreement on the temporary of licensing physical and legal persons who have been running their businesses on the territory of the partner republic since December 31, 1992.

Novak said the document regulated the temporary situation under which entrepreneurs had lost their business licences with the split of the Czechoslovak Federation into two states on January 1, 1993. The agreement is to enable Czech entrepreneurs to continue running their businesses in Slovakia and vice versa. The only condition is that the businessmen involved must apply for incorporation in the register of companies by the end of 1993.

If either physical or legal persons do not meet the conditions set by the agreement, their licence for running business on the other republic's territory will expire on April 30, 1994.

HZDS Defeated in Parliament Vote on Privatization

AU3010153293 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Oct 93 pp 1, 2

[Report by Martin Krno: "Disharmony From the First Tact; Fourth Day of the 23d Meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava— The 23d meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] continued yesterday, after a three-day break, with a debate on the proposal to pass a vote of no-confidence on the remaining four members of the Slovak Television Council. [passage omitted]

The next item on the agenda was the proposal to establish an NRSR Committee for Privatization, which should, among other things, tighten control over the entire privatization process. The proposal ran up against the tough resistance of deputies for the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]. Jan Michelko (HZDS) rejected the establishment of this committee because its activity would supposedly grossly interfere with the powers of the government and the ministries. According to Mikulas Dzurinda (Christian Democratic Movement), on the other hand, the present government has frozen the privatization process and, what is more, decisionmaking powers have accumulated in the hands not of a single movement, but of an individual. [passage omitted]

After a brief meeting of the clubs of deputies, the proposal to set up the privatization committee was passed, due, also, to support from Slovak National Party [SNS] deputies. However, in a secret ballot, neither of the two proposed candidates for the post of committee chairman received the necessary majority of more than one half of the 118 deputies who were present. J. Plesnik (Party of the Democratic Left) was short one vote and M. Micek (HZDS) of 18 votes. [passage omitted]

Press Views Creation of HZDS-SNS Coalition

AU2810135093 Prague CTK in English 0827 GMT 25 Oct 93

[Text] Bratislava, Oct 25 (CTK)— The October 19 signing of a coalition agreement between the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and the Slovak National Party (SNS) ended the several-month state of emergency in Slovakia, the independent daily NARODNA OBRODA writes today. It will much depend on whether the HZDS will only complete the government by adding SNS members or if it will fully reconstruct it, the paper stresses. The HZDS's image has been damaged by the case of Culture Minister and HZDS member Dusan Slobodnik (a court ruling confirmed on October 18 that under the Nazi-sponsored Slovak state (1939-1945), Slobodnik had been a member of a fascist youth organization and had attended a terrorist course-ed.), as well as by another HZDS member, Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik's Social Democratic libertinism. There still remains a question if the cabinet of Slovak Premier and HZDS leader Vladimir Meciar will become more efficient after undergoing the envisaged changes, and if the coalition will not change into one of a single color, NARODNA OBRODA concludes.

The daily also carries an interview with Ivan Laluha, chairman of the HZDS parliamentary group of deputies, who says that those considering a change in Slovakia's present constitutional system into a presidential or a chancellor's one, contribute to Slovakia's image as a politically unstable country. It is possible to have reservations about certain parts of the Constitution, to complete or modify some of its clauses, NARODNA OBRODA quotes Laluha as saying. He adds that though Slovak politicians have been committing many mistakes, the public opinion on the country sometimes is based on false information.

Premier Meciar did not promise his coalition partner sweat and tears as he had promised the citizens in the 1992 pre-election campaign, but a relation of equality and cooperation based on partnership, mainly in the parliament and its groups, comments SMENA, the daily close to the HZDS. Nobody expects the government to undergo qualitative changes, the daily stresses. However, the calm atmosphere necessary for settling urgent economic and social problems could arise after weeks of uncertainty, it adds. A democratic society should have possibilities of a constitutional settlement of crisis situations. With a coalition government created, the controversial questions can be expected to be solved even before a possible crisis, SMENA concludes.

The SNS will probably give in to the HZDS in the government, the tabloid NOVY CAS comments. In exchange for its obedience, the SNS will be allowed to share the power, but in the case of failure, it will be blamed as well. It is even not ruled out that in the course of time, it will be invited to merge with the HZDS, the paper underlines. Slovakia has gained a coalition government, and only time will show if the coalition government will gain Slovakia, it adds.

The SNS enters the coalition not out of thoughtless enthusiasm, but with awareness of the responsibility, SNS Honorary Chairman Jozef Prokes says in an interview published by the left-oriented daily PRAVDA. It is a matter for the SNS itself to maintain its identity, he says. However, he admits that the SNS will often have to prove it. Not only differences between individual ministries will emerge in the coalition, but also those between the two parties, both HZDS's and SNS's different attitudes and background, Prokes states.

The coalition will guarantee not Slovakia's stability which would give positive signals to foreign capital, but the strengthening of the power of Meciar himself, emphasizes SLOVENSKY DENNIK, the daily close to the opposition Christian Democratic Movement (KDH). In this case we can speak of a coalition with a specific purpose, strengthened by slowing down the parliament checking function, the daily comments. It notes that the completion of purges in the state administration, staffing of the Slovak Television Council, and preventing parliamentary commissions from dealing efficiently with the Indiagate affair and privatization are likely to be only the first steps towards the nationalized HZDS, which can be registered even at the current parliamentary session, SLOVENSKY DENNIK states.

Press Reflects on Role of 28 Oct in Slovak History

AU2910111993 Prague CTK in English 1646 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] Bratislava, Oct 27 (CTK)— The founding of the Czechoslovak Republic on October 28, 1918, was undoubtedly one of the most significant milestones in the history of the Slovak people, director of the History Department of the Slovak Academy of Science Dusan Kovac writes in the trade union daily PRACA today.

He contends that 1918 possibly meant more to the Slovaks than the Czechs. The Czechs had had a tradition of statehood and the idea of it was alive at the time. The Slovaks, on the other hand, arose as a political entity in 1918 for the first time. The Czechoslovak Republic was not, indeed, the state the Slovaks had imagined and the Slovak desire for autonomy was not satisfied until after the Munich Agreement of 1938.

In the first twenty years of Czechoslovakia, the Slovak people had, however, made the greatest leap in their history, Kovac observes. Slovaks changed from being oppressed and denationalized to citizens who began to be aware of their democratic rights and chose their representatives for the first time in history.

Therefore, if Slovakia refuses to celebrate the anniversary, it rejects the history of Czechoslovakia. But, Kovac writes, it cannot be denied that the Slovak people would not have the place they have today, among the sovereign nations of Europe, without the Czechoslovak state. If we deny or downplay the Czechoslovak state, we do the same to our own historical development, he writes.

What would there be between the Tatra mountains and the Danube river if a joint state with the Czechs had not arisen? The independent NARODNA OBRODA asks in an article entitled The Erasing of Historical Consciousness. It claims that not only Hlinka, the Slovak national leader, and Stefanik, first Czechoslovak defense minister of Slovak origin, but the entire Slovak intellectual community understood that union with the Czechs was the only means of preserving Slovak national identity.

The memory of the nation cannot be rubbed out, the daily comments. Only dictators attempted to do it but they never succeeded for long. The year 1918 was Slovakia's salvation, NARODNA OBRODA states.

Writing in REPUBLIKA, the newspaper published by the News Agency of the Slovak Republic, Eva Zelenayova says that the stealing of the former federation's flag by the Czech Republic was only an outer display of much more monstrous action, which has not only wiped out more than seventy years of the existence of a common state of Czechs and Slovaks, but taking a purely pragmatic look into the future, it has great importance for the Czech Republic. Essentially, it is nothing other that deceiving the world public and doing well as a result.

Zelenayova expresses surprise that this state of affairs does not bother certain organizations, such as Magda Vasaryova's Foreign Policy Association, which on the outside looks quite innocent and marks out for itself the noble goal of giving out as much objective information as possible about Slovakia. I doubt, however, whether under her leadership the organization will achieve this, when during the time she spent in Austria as former Czechoslovak ambassador she sent no positive signals to an editorial desk there which issued many lying articles about Slovakia.

The same paper carries a long article by Jozef Sulaj recapitulating the historical events of 1918, especially in connection with the Martin Declaration of October 30 of that year in which the Slovak National Council, not fully aware of what had happened in Prague on October 28, declared that it represented the Slovak people on the basis of their full independence. The author concludes that the Martin Declaration did not solve the important questions of the democratization of political life, and of the social and political demands of the Slovak people. The article says the problem of the international legal recognition of Slovakia in the new state was also left unsolved.

Sulaj writes that the infelicitous phrase a single Czechoslovak nation was abused by the Czechs during the first republic (1918-1938), but also later, because it denied the Slovak nation its national identity. The question of equality and sovereignty was only practically solved on January 1, 1993 when Czechoslovakia split, Jozef Sulaj says.

The daily SLOVENSKY DENNIK, close to the opposition Christian Democratic Movement, has an editorial which looks mainly at Slovak politicians, many of which it believes have changed from enthusiastic federalists to convinced nationalists. This change was typical above all of all those whose chairs shook under them, and who then fell off them, the paper says, pointing to the rapid opinion changes of Vladimir Meciar, but also of Milan Knazko, Augustin Marian Huska, and Roman Zelenay.

It is a pity that the break up of the common state was lead to such an extent by the hand of offended pride and lack of understanding, on both sides as well, the paper says. There is a hundred-percent probability that by the year 2000 the Czechoslovak Republic would have divided anyway, chiefly because of the different mentality and the different political orientation of the population. But the provoking of such a sudden and unprepared division of the republic has and will have negative economic and moral consequences for people who...never even got remotely close to the frequently-mentioned referendum, SLOVENSKY DENNIK writes.

Changes Expand Privatization Ministry Powers

AU3010183293 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 27 Oct 93 p 2

[Report by Stanislav Tomanek: "The Law Will Shed Light on Privatization"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava—[Passage omitted]

We Are Looking for Entrepreneurs, Not for Buyers

The amendments to laws on the National Property Fund and large-scale privatization that the government approved yesterday, will not please many of those who easily acquired state property under the previous government. Directors of state enterprises who are leading the firms that have been entrusted to them into bankruptcy or who refuse to provide relevant data to authors of rival privatization projects will not be pleased either. The Ministry of Privatization can now, after consulting the founding ministry, alter the method, scope, and conditions of privatization proposed in the privatization project. In that case the ministry's supplement will constitute part of the privatization project. The founding ministry and the enterprise in question are obliged, upon the privatization ministry's request, to submit the current data, documents, and information necessary for the modification of the privatization project. Directors of state enterprises who do not respect this can be fined up to 100,000 korunas and a sequel is likely to follow [as published].

According to Ivan Lexa, state secretary at the Ministry of Privatization, the proposed legal changes are guided by the "we are looking for entrepreneurs, not for buyers" philosophy. It was high time because there are 76 firms in Slovakia bearing the proud name "private" that refuse to pay for property they have privatized. Their debts have reached the sum of 700 million korunas. Under Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky the government approved the privatization of 12 state enterprises, for which sales contracts have not been concluded to this day. Obviously, the large-scale review carried out at the Privatization Ministry has brought to light more than just the scandalous privatization of the Golden Pheasant brewery. [passage omitted]

Conservative Democratic Party, Democratic Party To Merge

AU3010183093 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 25 Oct 93

[Report by "(nov)": "Democrats Have Reached Agreement"]

[Text] Liptovsky Mikulas—The Congress of the Conservative Democratic Party that took place in Liptovsky Mikulas confirmed Pavel Hagyari in his post of chairman. Apart from that, the delegates decided to merge the Christian Democratic Party and the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party Executive Committee should confirm this decision on 6 November. The joint political entity will be established in January next year at the earliest.

The congress was held behind closed doors. After the opening speeches, the delegates voted to have reporters and guests leave the hall.

Black Market Network Reportedly Behind Banknote Scandal

AU3010154593 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 27 Oct 93 p 1

[Report by Milan Kajan: "According to the Latest Information, an International Network of Black Market Currency Dealers and Embezzlers Was Involved in the Banknote Scandal"]

[Text] According to the latest information, an international network of black market currency dealers and embezzlers was involved in the banknote scandal. They were buying invalid unstamped federal banknotes, mostly abroad, and also managed to save some of the discarded banknotes from shredding.

Since a large amount of money was at stake, it was no problem to sacrifice several million as commission for the workers of a Canadian firm that produced Slovak duty stamps and stamp the invalid banknotes. So far, the representatives of the National Bank of the Slovak Republic have refused to publish the data on how many of these banknotes were brought into circulation. These "genuine" banknotes were then "washed" at an unnamed

Slovak bank. The information from sources near the government spoke about the arrests of people involved in the scandal that are to start at the beginning of this week. This indicates an advanced stage of the investigation. The Slovak Information Service, according to its director, V. Mitra, is aware of the affair but does not conduct the investigation. Similarly, the Investigation Department of the Police Corps does not conduct any investigation. Here, however, to make sure, they do not even know anything about the scandal. The same happened at the Presidium, where we learned that apparently it is a very delicate matter and a secret investigation group was formed about which the police knows nothing. That is interesting. So, who could have formed it? It was not parliament.

Thousands of Czechs Have Applied for Citizenship

AU3010154093 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Oct 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "Awarding of Citizenship From Next Year On"]

[Text] Bratislava—More than 4,200 citizens of the Czech Republic who are permanent residents of Slovakia have applied for citizenship in the Slovak Republic. According to National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] Law No. 40 of 1993 on Citizenship, citizens can choose their citizenship at the appropriate district office, depending on their place of residence. At the Bratislava-1 District Office, even citizens of the Czech Republic who have not been permanent residents of the Slovak Republic can opt for Slovak citizenship. The opportunity to choose citizenship applies only to persons who were citizens of the CSFR on 31 December 1992 and were not simultaneously citizens of the Slovak Republic. Citizens may choose their citizenship by 31 December 1993. After this deadline, citizens of the Czech Republic will no longer be able to acquire citizenship in the Slovak Republic by choice but through awarding. Under the aforementioned law, the awarding of citizenship comes under the jurisdiction of the Slovak Ministry of Interior.

Antall Gives Interview From Cologne

LD2910201893 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Excerpts] Prime Minister Jozsef Antall gave a telephone interview from Cologne today for the Sunday edition of "The Week" [Hungarian TV program]. Here is an excerpt from it.

[Begin Antall recording] [passage omitted] Every week or two, a section of the media, which is obviously in direct contact with certain political groups in Hungary, publishes a negative article. There is no need for surprise about this. [passage omitted] Fortunately, responsible politicians and businessmen—whether here [Germany], or at home or abroad—do not believe these articles. These are games by certain political groups, which even try to sell abroad their own hysteria. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Discusses NATO, MiG Purchase

AU2810183293 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 22 Oct 93 p 5

[Interview with Defense Minister Lajos Fur by Istvan Leko in Budapest; date not given: "Only NATO Can Be Security Guarantor"]

[Text] "Although there is no immediate threat to Hungary, the contests in the East and in the Baikans can develop into other armed conflicts. To prevent their spreading, every country in Central and Eastern Europe must react. The efforts to get closer to the North Atlantic Alliance belong to this reaction," Minister Fur said in the introduction to the LIDOVE NOVINY interview. "Only NATO can guarantee the long-term security of this region. Therefore, it would be effective, if the Visegrad Group states coordinated their individual steps."

[Leko] How would you assess Hungary's chances of joining NATO after Yeltsin's letter?

[Fur] We do not know the details of the letter. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the letter will not hinder the intended NATO reforms, nor will it challenge the expansion of this organization by new members. The Alliance has always emphasized that its draft reform will reinforce the security and stability in Europe, and never otherwise. Even if Yeltsin's letter did not exist, the representatives of the NATO member states and of the states that would like to join NATO would keep the justified security demands of Russia in mind.

One cannot join this organization in one day. The relationship between any East European country and NATO depends, above all, on the interests of the West, with regard also paid to Russian interests. The degree of democratic and economic development also plays an important role, as do differences in military technology. Hence, I believe that NATO will only gradually unfurl its protective umbrella over our heads. Maybe, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary will obtain such a status that will facilitate their joining NATO as full members in just a few years.

[Leko] Does the Hungarian Government support the joining of NATO only for foreign political reasons or also for domestic political reasons?

[Fur] Our joining NATO is supported by all government parties and some of the opposition. I do not believe that the government supports NATO membership only to push the left wing into the background. It is obvious that the conceivable membership in NATO would reinforce the position of the conservative forces and slow the extremist groupings. Nevertheless, we hope the Alliance would play the most important role in preventing the armed conflicts between the majority nations and ethnic minorities from spreading into Central Europe.

[Leko] Deliberations develop frequently in Romania, Serbia, or Slovakia on Hungary frantically arming itself to eventually take over territories with large Hungarian minorities. The Russian delivery to Hungary of 28 MiG-29 jets and a great quantity of anti-tank missile technology was the cause of great concern.

[Fur] That is ridiculous propaganda. Unfortunately, at times, we must take it seriously, because the accusations come from high-placed government officials. If we compare our air force with those of neighboring countries, we find that we have the weakest. Even our smallest neighbor, Slovakia, has an air force almost as strong as ours is. We have 113 combat aircraft, which is very little with respect to the Vienna Agreement on the Reduction of Conventional Armed Forces and Equipment that specifies 180 combat aircraft as the bottom limit for Hungary.

[Leko] Have you consulted with NATO on this purchase?

[Fur] We are not purchasing these airplanes. We are receiving the MiGs in the framework of the settlement of debts between the former USSR and Hungary. Since we are not about to receive Western technology of the same quality free of charge from NATO—and it is even questionable whether they would sell us such aircraft—we had to accept this alternative. We have not consulted with NATO on the purchase, but we informed all the neighboring countries about it. So far, for military political reasons, NATO has not approved the sale of its latest technology to the postcommunist countries. No political decision has been made in this respect.

[Leko] Would you expect NATO to intervene in a conceivable conflict between Serbia and Hungary?

[Fur] That is a question for NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner. To my knowledge, leading representatives of NATO have repeatedly stated that, in the future, no one can harm Hungary.

Ships Cross Serbian Blockade on Danube

LD2810194093 Budapest MTI in English 1707 GMT 28 Oct 93

[Text] Belgrade, October 28 (MTI)—Having been barred from sailing for more than three weeks, the Hungarian vessel "Eger" on Thursday crossed the blockade at Zemun, on the Serbian reach of the Danube.

The Serbian "White Rose" organization, which has kept this Danube section under blockade, gave the green light to the Hungarian boat after talks with delegates from Hungarian shippers Mahart.

The Eger originally was going downstream with empty barges, to bring back iron ore for the Danube iron works in Hungary.

Another Hungarian ship, the "Vac", was allowed to cross the blockade, and is scheduled to arrive at Belgrade on Friday.

Office of Prime Minister Statement on Media Controversy

LD3010173393 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 30 Oct 93

[Statement by press office of prime minister issued in Budapest on 30 October—read by announcer]

[Text] Statement on the situation that has evolved around the public service media:

The vice presidents of the public service media, who have been entrusted with the sphere of competence of presidents, in recent days took decisions under the labor law that serve objective and balanced information. The vice presidents of Hungarian Radio and Hungarian Television, who were appointed by the president of the republic, since their assumption of office have ensured that the various views and opinions find a place in the public service institutions.

It is extremely regrettable [rendkivuel sajnalatos] that the vice president of television suspended the editor in chief of one of the television news programs, the "Evening Balance" ["Esti Egyenleg"], and some of his staff members from their posts on acute suspicion of manipulation and deliberate deception.

The government learned with incomprehension that the representatives of the opposition parties and a group of the press did not dissociate themselves from the chief editorial's presumably unethical conduct; instead, they launched into a political campaign spreading beyond the country's borders, attacking the legal decision of the vice president.

The government is convinced that a decisive role has been played in the development of the present situation by the opposition parties having obstructed the adoption of the media bill.

Another fact that makes it difficult to judge the public service institutions is that the president of the republic, several times during the past two years, did not accept the personnel recommendations submitted by the prime minister and that since 6 January 1993 he has not taken a stance on the resignation of the presidents who were previously in office.

The government rejects the concept equating press freedom with the existence of a few journalists and/or programs. It was only in three key positions that the media vice presidents considered it necessary to appoint new leaders who are capable of implementing the measures taken by them in the interest of unbiased information. At Hungarian Radio nobody was suspended from his/her position; merely one new deputy editor in chief was appointed to a vacant position. The only thing that was suspended is a part of a morning news program, the preparation of the press review, until its content is renewed. Therefore, the press campaign against the decision is unacceptable.

The "Evening Balance" started its programs in January 1992, alongside the "Newsreel" ["Hirado"], which has been functioning for decades. Although the parallel news program was extremely costly, and although the artificial competitive situation wholly departed from European practice, the television leaders did not impede its activity. When the vice president of Hungarian Television, in observance of the valid laws and measures, suspended from his position the program's editor in chief—who could be suspected of manipulation, and entrusted a new leader with the task, a proportion of the editorial staff members, by unlawfully refusing to work, made it impossible to carry out the public service task.

The vice president of Hungarian Television, in accordance with international practice, launched a disciplinary investigation, and it is expected that he will dismiss the 10 public service employees who refused to work.

The vice presidents of Hungarian Television and Hungarian Radio have acted on the basis of the valid laws; the government is not authorized to reexamine their decisions and neither does it have the legal possibility to interfere in the internal professional issues of the public service media.

The government is convinced that the steps taken by the vice presidents do not by any means endanger freedom of speech or press, they do not threaten the democratic order and stability in Hungary. The government resolutely rejects the incitement of a political mood that unjustifiably exceeds the importance of the decisions made under the labor law and a campaign that causes moral harm to the country.

Television Affair Discussed by Politicians

AU2910132593 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 28 Oct 93 p 4

[Report by "Sz.P.": "The SZDSZ Wants Multiparty Talks"]

[Text] At its session on 27 October, the management body of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] condemned the measures taken in the television and radio in a resolution. According to the document forwarded to the Hungarian news agency MTI in the late evening, these measures are directed toward making the broadcast of unbiased information impossible so as to divert attention from the serious economic and social problems and from the government's failures. Considering the situation that has evolved, the SZDSZ's management body is initiating multiparty talks, to which it invites the Agrarian Federation, the Federation of Young Democrats, the Republic Party, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, and Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], and the Party of Entrepreneurs. It suggests that the participants consider possible means of joint action for independent information, clean elections, and calm transition.

MSZP manager Gabor Kis Gellert said that the opposition parties can try some kind of coordination, it will not depend on the socialists. According to Gellert, the opposition is not powerless and international public opinion also has to be roused. He pointed out it is no longer possible to influence this television by political means, only the government can take measures and its behavior will prove its attitude toward the public service media. He added that, according to the MSZP, the situation could still be improved through talks on the personnel before the media law is made. The party will submit a proposal on this, he said. Gellert stated that, by calling the issue of the "Egyenleg" [Balance, television news program] a deceit, [Interior Minister] Peter Boross had prejudiced the case. On the other hand, [Television Deputy Chairman] Gabor Nahlik lacks the basic technical knowledge to form an opinion on program making, he added.

In the view of Istvan Csurka [chairman of the Hungarian Way Movement and a leader of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party], the producing company [Sony] established, at an independent forum, that a falsification had taken place at the Egyenleg. Who is it that cannot be convinced about the falsification, he asked and then he said that, right from the beginning, he had drawn attention to the Egyenleg provocation, which threatened to upset the whole public order. The suspension of these people, who were previously heavily involved in the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] is a very light punishment. It is absurd that these people—thinking mainly of [Egyenleg's suspended chief editor Andras] Bano—have been able to work for the television up to now. Commenting on Laszlo Muranyi's [person appointed as new chief editor] membership in the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], he said: "I am dumbfounded! Where is it written in the Hungarian Constitution that a KDNP member cannot work for the television? On this basis, the whole place could be closed down because everyone is a member or a sympathizer of a party." Csurka stated that he wished his wishes had been fulfilled with the changes in the media—on the contrary, he is still banned from both institutions. "A much bigger cleaning up process has to be performed if we want to establish a normal public information service," Csurka said.

Bela Csepe, leader of the KDNP's parliamentary group, said in connection with Laszlo Muranyi's appointment to lead the Egyenleg: He is not certain that Muranyi, a correspondent of the "Hirado" news program, is a registered member of the KDNP, but Muranyi had expressed his commitment for the KDNP in several private conversations. However, this does not affect his professional appointment, Csepe said.

Finance Ministry Submits Changed Budget Figures

AU2910132493 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 28 Oct 93 pp 1, 9

[Report by Istvan Varga: "New Budget Plans in the Finance Ministry—Changed Key Figures"]

[Text] This week Parliament decided to postpone the debate on the 1994 budget because, in his introductory speech, Finance Minister Ivan Szabo mentioned new key figures that were completely different from the numbers in the written material. One of the most important changes was that the Finance Ministry reduced the forecast on the gross domestic product [GDP] from the previous 1-3 percent to 0 percent, this can be read in a bulletin published by the Finance Ministry on 27 October.

This has two reasons. On one hand, domestic demand was much below that planned in 1993 and it seems that a significant change cannot be expected in 1994, either.

The Hungarian National Bank's [MNB's] recent increase of the interest rate will further reduce the public's willingness to spend because it will make savings more attractive. The goal of the central bank's increase of the basic interest rate was to reduce the increase of the country's foreign debts but this also resulted in increasing the entrepreneurial interest rates. This also has a negative effect on the GDP. We cannot expect demand to increase from abroad, either, a fact that also hinders economic growth. According to the Finance Ministry, exports will be at around $8.5-9 billion and will not increase by more than 3-6 percent in 1994, either.

According to the Finance Ministry, inflation will be around 23 percent in 1993 and a level of 16-22 percent is expected in 1994. If the forint is not again devalued

significantly and the increase of wages is not higher than desirable, inflation is likely to be below 20 percent. In connection with the changed exchange rate, the ministry's report notes that the recent 4.5-percent devaluation adequately improved the profitability of exports.

The budget deficit is the third critical point where the 1994 forecast has been considerably changed. Instead of the originally calculated 250 billion forints [Ft], Szabo spoke about Ft350 billion. From the Ft100 billion excess, some Ft40-50 billion can be attributed to the aforementioned increase of interest rates by the central bank. Another Ft40-50 billion are to cover the deficit of the social security funds. However, this is only a technical change and does not increase the deficit at the level of state finances. The remaining Ft15-20 billion are to cover debt consolidation. Whether the Ft350 billion deficit can be maintained, the finance minister said that with careful management there is hope of keeping the deficit under control.

Oil and Gas Company To Raise Fuel Prices

LD2910103993 Budapest MTI in English 1013 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Budapest, October 29 (MTI)—The Hungarian Oil and Gas Co (MOL) will raise, from Monday, November 1, the price of diesel and industrial fuel by 2 forints a litre and household heating oil by 1.20 forints a litre.

Diesel fuel at MOL and Afor filling stations will cost HuF [Hungarian forints] 63 a litre and household heating oil HuF 25 a litre.

MOL said the price rise was necessary in view of world price changes and as consumer prices for these fuels had not changed this year. Petrol prices will not increase on Monday.

Survey on Popularity of Politicians, Parties

AU2710180493 Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 23 Oct 93 pp 96, 97, 98

[Report by Endre Hann: "Popularity of Parties and Politicians—Group Formations"]

[Text] Significant changes have not taken place in the electors' willingness to vote or in their party preferences during the summer months. The opposition parties are firmly holding on to their advantage, and opposition leaders continue to occupy the top third of the list on the popularity of the best-known politicians. These are the results of the analysis commissioned by HETI VILAGGAZDASAG and prepared by the Median in the third quarter.

In the first six months of the year, the willingness to vote constantly decreased and the proportion of people claiming that they would certainly vote decreased from the "peak" 58 percent in December 1992 to an ebb of 51 percent in June 1993. This process stopped by September and although the 53 percent "definite" voters do not mean a statistically significant change, this makes it probable that the next elections will be successful in a large part of the country. Naturally, there are big differences between the various regions: The activity of electors is bigger than the average in Budapest and Pest County and smaller than average in south Transdanubia and the central area of the Alfold. The political power structure resulting from the voting intentions has not considerably changed since June. In spite of its now lasting poor state, the Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz] is holding on to its first place, and the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] has stabilized its second place. The 4 percent difference between the voters of the two parties is smaller than ever before. The two currently biggest parliamentary parties—the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]—are continuing to have an even competition for third place. However, the slow ascent of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] and the constant descent of the Independent Smallholders Party [FKgP] are noteworthy. According to the survey, the latter does not even reach the parliamentary threshold anymore. All in all, the three government parties together—including the FKgP—would not be able to expect one-fifth of the votes on lists "at elections this Sunday," and the three opposition parties would not reach an absolute majority either (as in March when they could have had 55 percent of the definite votes.)

The above calculations were based on answers given to the so-called "open" questions. In the case of open questions, the surveyed people were much more uncertain regarding their party preferences: Almost one-third gave an answer of "I do not know" or "I will not say." When the interviewers asked a "closed" question, 13 percent more people were able to give an answer. However, the extra votes were not evenly distributed between the various parties: The MSZP received the most (4 percent), the SZDSZ and the KDNP received 2 percent more each, but the proportion of people supporting the FIDESZ and the MDF remained the same. Out of the parties outside parliament, the Labor Party received 2 percent, and the social democrats, the greens, the "half-parliamentary" Republic Party, the Hungarian Justice and Life Party, and the National Democratic Feredation received 1 percent each.

Public opinion researchers often emphasize that surveys between two elections only reflect the public mood and it would be risky to draw long-term conclusions from these. This is particularly supported by the fact that the proportion of people who do not have a definite party preference is rather high among those who intend to vote; it was one-fifth even in the case of answers to "closed" questions. However, with the approach of the elections, both the politicians and the general public interpret the data as real forecasts. However, it would be too soon for the current opposition parties to be overconfident because the government parties also seem to have some "hidden" reserves. This is also shown by a close examination of the sympathy points of the various

parties. While, similarly to former surveys, the opposition is clearly more attractive among all people asked (the order is unchanged at the top: FIDESZ, SZDSZ, MSZP), the currently uncertain voters give higher sympathy points than the others to the MDF and the KDNP and fewer points to the opposition parties.

Little has changed in the popularity of politicians in the past three months. The most significant seems to be that, after the still first [President] Arpad Goncz, [MSZP Chairman] Gyula Horn has reached second place for the first time, even if he is only ahead of [Republic Party Chairman] Janos Palotas by some tenths of a point and through being known by more people. It is another interesting development that this is the first time [Interior Minister] Peter Boross was among the 20 best-known people (overtaking Zoltan Kiraly who had 80 percent). In addition, a bigger proportion of people who know Boross would welcome him in an important political role than before. This, of course, does not make him very popular because he is only at the middle of the group of government politicians. Out of the ministers, [Welfare Minister] Laszlo Surjan is once again the most popular (he swapped places with [Defense Minister] Lajos Fur, who was ahead of him last time).

Although public opinion surveys often point out a lack of political knowledge among the population, from the visible correlations of the acceptance and rejection of the 20 best-known politicians, groups that correspond to the parliamentary political camps emerge (as opposed to, for example, the people being next to each other on the basis of their popularity). The mathematical procedure known as factor analysis shows the common cognitive elements behind the answers, and on this basis, the politicians form four big groups. One consists of the government party and governmental personalities (from the prime minister through the chairman of parliament to the chairman of the Hungarian National Bank), the second consists of liberal politicians (starting from the president of the republic through the FIDESZ and SZDSZ leaders to Janos Palotas), the third one has left-wing people with—let us put it this way—"deserters" (Gyula Horn is together with Imre Pozsgay, Matyas Szuros, and Mihaly Kupa here). The fourth group has only two politicians, namely Istvan Csurka and Jozsef Torgyan.

Pawlak To Present Program to Sejm 8 Nov

LD2910220693 Warsaw PAP in English 2105 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 29—The next Sejm (lower house) meeting scheduled for Nov. 8 and 9 will be entirely devoted to the expose to be delivered by Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, debate on the expose and the vote of confidence in the new cabinet.

The news came from Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy Friday night [29 October].

On the first day of the Sejm meeting Pawlak will present his government's programme. Then Sejm committees will hold hearings of the ministers and pass opinions on their ability to implement the programme.

The next day a plenary Sejm debate will be held during which representatives of Sejm caucuses will present their position on Pawlak's expose. Finally, the Sejm will take a confidence vote in the government.

It will be the first time this procedure, stemming from the constitutional amendments adopted last spring, will be applied.

Oleksy told reporters that 9 draft laws have been lodged with the Sejm presidium in the period following the inaugural sitting of the chamber. Two of them have been sent to relevant Sejm committees. One draft deals with lifting the wage-growth tax applied to state enterprises, the other puts off by two years the operation under which the management of primary schools will be transferred from the Ministry of Education to local councils.

The committees will also start work on several reports submitted to the Sejm speaker by the Supreme Board of Inspection (NIK) after the dissolution of parliament.

Planning Office Head Says Budget is Priority

LD2910213793 Warsaw PAP in English 2048 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 29—Work on the 1994 state budget, and on economic forecasts to 1997, are the main priorities facing the Central Office of Planning (CUP), the new Minister-Head of CUP Miroslaw Pietrewicz told journalists on Friday [29 October].

Asked to comment on the budget assumptions prepared by the Suchocka government, Pietrewicz said that changes would be needed, particularly because the new coalition government was committed to stable economic growth and to a brake on the growth in unemployment. In his opinion, the way to achieve this was through the dynamisation of exports and investment, and through changes in the system of implementing ownership changes. This would require closer social control over these processes, he claimed.

Pietrewicz said that the implementation of the government's intentions might lead to some increase in the budget deficit. In such circumstances, "I do not see the budget deficit as some sort of pagan fetish, but as a certain economic evil, to which we should agree in the short term, while trying to minimise its negative impact," he said.

In his opinion, the main threat to economic growth was the foreign trade deficit, which was likely to exceed 2 billion dollars by the end of the year. However, devaluation was not a suitable answer, he believed, since it could destabilise the economy.

Commenting on the role of the Central Office of Planning, Pietrewicz said that he did not envisage any need for changes in its operations. The CUP should direct all its energies to evaluate a strategy for the country's growth, "which will be a signpost for the activities of all bodies involved in economic and social life in Poland," he said.

Court Dismisses Case Against Kaczynski

LD2910184993 Warsaw PAP in English 1737 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 29—The Warsaw district court Friday [29 October] dismissed the case against Jaroslaw Kaczynski brought by the public prosecutor who charged the former Sejm deputy had broken the state secrets act.

The court ruled that Kaczynski, by revealing to the press last March the contents of a secret directive issued by the State Protection Office (UOP) a year ago, did not break the law because he was acting in his capacity as member of parliament.

In Kaczynski's opinion, the directive in question allowed UOP to illegally spy on political opposition, a claim categorically denied by UOP chiefs and the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Substantiating the ruling, the judge said the court did not examine the substance of Kaczynski's arguments. But the judge added that the directive provoked criticisms from members of a Sejm committee of the past term that dealt with the issue.

The prosecutor announced he would appeal from [as received] today's ruling.

The directive was annulled last May by UOP "because of its publication" by Kaczynski.

Yeltsin Aide on Russian Stance Toward NATO

AU2810130393 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 26 Oct 93 p 8

[Commentary "specially for GAZETA" by Adranik Migranian, adviser to Russian President Yeltsin: "We Will Not Let Ourselves Be Isolated"]

[Text] During his visit to Warsaw in August, Boris Yeltsin said in public that he has nothing against Poland's entry into NATO. But at the end of September

it transpired that he is opposed to Poland's NATO membership after all, and that he has informed Western governments of his opinion in a special letter.

Unfortunately, the president's remarks in Warsaw were rather careless, therefore they require elaboration.

Polish-Russian history contains many dark chapters. Of course, Russia has borne the responsibility, moral and otherwise, for Poland's loss of statehood, for Katyn, for the persecution following World War II, and many other things.

That is why it was perfectly natural for Yeltsin to say that Russia does not intend to continue its previous imperial policy or any other policy that could infringe in the slightest way upon Poland's sovereign interests or upset the feeling of Poles.

With this assumption in mind, the president said in Warsaw that Poland, as an independent and sovereign country, of course has the right to act the way it sees fit. And that is how one should interpret Yeltsin's statement concerning NATO—meaning that Russia will not protest against this.

But there is another side to the problem which Yeltsin did not mention. No wonder, because the president has never been involved in foreign policy in his life and is not fully versed in the subtleties of diplomacy.

After all, Russia possesses geopolitical and national interests connected with the change in the world balance of forces. In such a situation, Russia is entitled to have its own opinion on such and such a decision by such and such a country, although—and I wish to make this quite clear—the president believes that admission into NATO is a sovereign decision by Poland.

In Russia's opinion, and I agree with it, admission into NATO by Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and some other couriers could cause a very significant alteration to the world balance of forces and have a negative impact on Russia's geopolitical situation and interests. Hence the president's letter to Western leaders, the explanations issued by our Foreign Ministry, and the debate in the columns of the press.

The problem of Eastern Europe has also been raised at other meetings, for example with Zbigniew Brzezinski and the U.S. ambassador.

Russia has suddenly drifted away from Western Europe. Now we are separated for it not only by the central and eastern part of the continent, but also by Ukraine, Belarus, and the Baltic countries. But this isolation only exists in a geographical sense. After all, we are pursuing market reforms and establishing democratic structures, therefore the view that Russia may threaten someone with aggression is unjustified. Therefore there is no intelligent reason why the countries of Eastern Europe should be situated beneath the NATO umbrella.

We therefore believe, and I concur with this, that NATO's expansion right up to the former borders of the USSR is to be considered not a desire to safeguard the security, sovereignty, and border integrity of Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia, but as an attempt to isolate Russia even further. Maybe it even signifies a desire to expand NATO even further toward the East, something which cannot fail to cause alarm in Russia.

NATO membership by Poland and other Visegrad countries might also open the gate to NATO for the former Soviet republics, for example Ukraine, which has been flirting with NATO recently and has decided to retain the nuclear weapons on its territory. Therefore it is difficult to dispense entirely with the idea that the West might want to build a cordon sanitaire around Russia some time in the future.

Politics is not philanthropy. It is wrong to expect neighbors and partners to be kind to each other forever. Every country has to consider itself and its future, even when it enjoys the closest possible relations with other countries.

I categorically reject the view that Russia's stance toward the admission of new NATO members is the result of pressure from generals whose influence has increased since the failed coup of 3-4 October.

The opinion of the entire affair has been shaped not among the generals, even though they might share it, but among sober-thinking politicians who view international relations in realistic terms. Evidently, the president also shares this opinion.

By the way, rumors that Russia could soon join NATO are groundless. Announcing that everyone, including Russia, is now going to join NATO is nothing but a propaganda trick.

I have spoken to a top-level NATO delegation, from whom I have learned that the pact is working out a modification of itself to suit the new circumstances. The degree of integration of new NATO members is one of the things that is being considered.

A kind of vacuum had emerged in Eastern Europe since the collapse of the USSR. The Poles might ask: If Russia is opposed to Poland's admission to NATO, what alternative does it propose? For instance the Visegrad group could develop into a regional economic community, and perhaps a military one as well.

But I think that Europe should be united according to completely new principles and that one should create a completely new structure of European security to which both Russia and all other European countries will belong. And if the United States wanted to join as well, I would see nothing wrong with that.

I consider it essential to establish a more universal structure, rather than gradually admit former Warsaw Pact members into NATO.

Geremek Calls Russian Stand 'Negotiating Maneuver'

LD2910181993 Warsaw PAP in English 1551 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Krakow, Oct. 29—One should not make too much of the changing position of Russia on Poland's NATO membership because "it is a simple negotiating manouevre rather than an objection voiced by a world power," said Bronislaw Geremek, the chairman of the Polish Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee.

He was addressing a conference on economic and political integration of Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary which opened here Friday [29 October]. Attended by 100 Polish and foreign guests, the conference is scheduled to end Oct. 31 with a signing of a declaration on the creation of the Tatra Euroregion.

According to Geremek, Russia wants to win concessions by seemingly opposing Poland's access to NATO. This is a repetition of the tactics pursued by the Soviet Union during talks on the reunification of Germany, he thinks.

Jan Marek Nowakowski, the head of the Centre for International Studies of the Polish Senate, told the conference that already now Polish defense systems were compatible with NATO air defense and early warning systems and could be easily incorporated into the latter. The restructuring of the Polish Army along Western patterns was making headway, Nowakowski added.

Mazowiecki Views UD's New Post-Election Role

AU2810124493 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 25 Oct 93 pp 10, 11

[Interview with Democratic Union leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki, by Piotr Najsztub and Piotr Pacewicz; place and date not given: "I Find It Difficult To Play in my Own Yard"]

[Excerpts] [GAZETA WYBORCZA] Apparently there is a conflict between you and parliamentary club chairman Bronislaw Geremek. You have failed to prevent the club from voting for the new Sejm speaker, Oleksy.

[Mazowiecki] Almost 50 percent of the club voted for him. I tried to convince the club not to vote for him because I thought our supporters would not like it, especially in view of the fact that the Union of Labor has quit the ruling coalition. [passage omitted]

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Someone said that this is the third time that the UD has neither won nor lost the elections and that this trend is a suicidal one for the party.

[Mazowiecki] Geremek said that in your newspaper one week ago.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Do you agree?

[Mazowiecki] I understand his feelings. Every party would like to gain more support. However, although the UD was supported by slightly more people than in the last elections, it actually gained a lower percentage of the vote. Needless to say, I do not think that one can talk of any trend, much less a suicidal trend.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Well, under what circumstances do you think a negative trend could occur? If the UD were to lose the Spring 1994 local government elections for the fourth time in a row, would that signify a negative trend?

[Mazowiecki] If you are suggesting that I fail to understand the problems that the UD is facing, you are very much mistaken. If you want me to supply a negative forecast, I am afraid I must disappoint you.

Until now, the UD has acted as a stabilizer of the Polish political scene. Now it has to define a new role for itself. On the one hand, there is a large left-wing bloc inside parliament, but on the other hand there is a fractious right-wing bloc and a large proportion of the population that is not represented by any political groups in parliament. It is necessary to form an alternative to left-wing rule, but without ignoring the social problems that brought the left to power.

The UD will defend the reforms and struggle against any attempt to reestablish the pre-1989 status quo. As for that part of the right wing that remains outside parliament, we are concerned lest it become dominated by extremist forces. [passage omitted]

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Under the People's Republic you were officially in the opposition; you advised and competed with Walesa; you were interned, and then elected as the first noncommunist prime minister in this part of the world. Were the difficulties in those times greater than the difficulties of today?

[Mazowiecki] The difficulties of those times were greater, but easier to resolve. I discussed this recently with one of my younger colleagues, who likened my situation to that of a young boy playing in the yard. I am harsh with boys playing in another yard and know how to argue with them, but I find it difficult to play in my own yard. I very much need to be able to trust the friends in my own yard.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] You do not trust them right now?

[Mazowiecki] Yes, but when I read all their statements in the press, I begin to have my doubts.

FRY Envoy Summoned to Ministry Over Blocked Ships

AU2910190893 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] The ambassador of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] in Bucharest was summoned today to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to be informed of the demand conveyed to the Yugoslav authorities to take the necessary measures in order to immediately free the Romanian ships blocked near Belgrade by the non-governmental organizations White Rose and New Byzantium.

A similar request was conveyed to the authorities of the FRY by Romania's Embassy in Belgrade, said Mr. Mircea Geoana, spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to our reporter, Eugen Baboi.

Iliescu 'Concerned' Over Recent Price Hikes

AU2910163493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] During the weekly news conference held today at Cotroceni Palace, presidential spokesman Traian Chebeleu read two press declarations, our correspondent, Sorin Croitorescu, reports.

The first one referred to the fact that the recent price hikes, especially those of meat products, have caused concern to President Ion Iliescu. After pointing out that, in Iliescu's opinion, besides the objective difficulties caused by the transition period, the new prices also reflect certain economic companies' tendency to obtain gains from profiteering, Chebeleu announced that President Iliescu has notified the leadership of Parliament and requested that the government should examine the situation and take steps to halt profiteering and unjustified price hikes that are aggravating the difficult phenomena accompanying transition.

The second commentary referred to the recent declaration of the national committee organizing the festivities to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the 1 December 1918 union and Romania's national day. Chebeleu stated that President Iliescu has distanced himself and expressed his disapproval of what had happened in 1990 at Alba Iulia [incidents related to certain extremist statements made by nationalist speakers who took the floor], and reassured the national committee that he would take all necessary measures to prevent such events from happening again.

Gherman Describes Latin American Tour

AU3010202793 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 30 Oct 93

[Text] The Romanian parliamentary delegation that paid official visits to Brazil, Bolivia, and Venezuela at the invitation of the parliaments of those countries returned to Bucharest an hour ago. Upon return, at Otopeni International Airport, the leader of the delegation, Senate Speaker Oliviu Gherman, made the following press statement:

[Begin Gherman recording] During our visits in those three countries, we established parliamentary contacts with the speakers of both chambers of all three parliaments, we were received by the presidents of all three republics, and we also had talks with their foreign affairs ministers.

During our brief stopover in Madrid, we were received by the speaker of Spain's Senate.

I would also like to stress that the whole atmosphere of our visit was very favorable for the furthering of bilateral relations between our countries. What is more, they even suggested that our country should be included within certain South American economic organizations. Our partners there pledged to make efforts to that purpose.

Obviously, parliamentary delegations do not aim to conclude economic contracts or approach other such concrete aspects. The fundamental idea was to strengthen mutual confidence on the basis of better knowing each other politically. [end recording]

Petre Roman Outlines NATO Rapporteur Mission

AU3010154493 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 26 Oct 93 p 3

[Interview with Petre Roman, president of the Democratic Party (National Salvation Front), by Roxana Badralexi; place and date not given: "A Lump in the Throat of Those in Power"]

[Text] [Badralexi] Mr. Roman, does the position of special NATO rapporteur represent some kind of job?

[Roman] No, I am not a NATO official. All rapporteurs are members of parliament who write reports on subjects indicated by the Permanent Committee of the NATO Assembly that refer to the area for which these rapporteurs have been designated. As far as I am concerned, my field is "The New Order of European Security." This new thing of also electing parliamentarians coming from associate member countries, like Romania, as special rapporteurs emerged last year. As far as I know, there were two such rapporteurs so far—a Hungarian and a Pole. Until recently, a Russian had been in the commission to which I have been elected, but because of objective reasons, so to say, he was no longer present at the last session and the Political Commission president suggested that I be appointed instead. The proposal was endorsed by the plenary session of the Political Commission.

[Badralexi] Thus, you have been elected by "them."

[Roman] Yes, nominated and elected by the Political Commission of the NATO Assembly.

[Badralexi] Are there only three special rapporteurs coming from associate NATO countries? You, the Pole, and the Hungarian?

[Roman] I think so. And surely the only one from Romania. The other two, however, belong to different commissions.

[Badralexi] Of what will your work consist?

[Roman] Rapporteurs write reports for NATO sessions, which are discussed within commission plenary sessions or even in the plenum of the NATO Assembly, and then approved. There is a certain continuity in these reports on the respective subject. There have been a few special reports on specific subjects, that have so far been relevant to their own countries. The scope of issues for these special reports has, however, expanded. Now, these subjects make up the mission that the appointed people have to fulfill at the request of the Permanent Commission of the NATO Assembly. At this point it is difficult for me to explain what my mission will be because the subject is a very broad one.

[Badralexi] And what is going to happen with these reports?

[Roman] Any report becomes a document of the NATO Assembly. Generally, they are approved following discussions, which make certain amendments.

[Badralexi] Thus, your position is an important one.

[Roman] My position as special rapporteur is important for the very reason that in this way the Romanian point of view is made known.

[Badralexi] What did the ruling party members say about this appointment?

[Roman] At the beginning I was warmly congratulated. Well, I thought that everybody was glad. When I arrived home, however, I realized that in the meantime they had changed their views. Whether they received different recommendations, I don't know...

[Badralexi] Do you think that this is the main incompatibility between NATO and Romanian military and civilian structures?

[Roman] One of the most important splits has been overcome and Romania has become an associate member. And in this session, associate members are not entitled to vote, but they are entitled to participate on equal footing with full members.

[Badralexi] Does equal participation also mean a right to one's opinion?

[Roman] Of course. As far as I am concerned, I have taken the floor 10 times in the Political Commission; this was recorded and became part and parcel of the reports on which I was commenting.

[Badralexi] Do you think that Romania's chances of becoming a NATO member would grow if a radical change of power took place in Bucharest?

[Roman] Here we have a problem, namely that of the credibility of the operation of democratic institutions in our country. The amendments on the basis of which our adherence to the European Community was endorsed clearly prove this. There have been and are numerous violations by officials and, naturally, by the democratic institutions in Romania, and all these things cannot enhance our credibility, on the contrary. The active and competent presence of some of the Romanian parliamentarians there cannot make up for realities at home.

New Regulations Threaten Future Strikers

AU2810191393 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 25 Oct 93 p 8

[Report by Laurentiu Solomon: "Organizers and Participants in Future Strikes May Be Sentenced to Life Imprisonment"]

[Text] With the purpose of preventing future strikes and without notifying the trade unions, the Ministry of Industry has sent note No. 282728/26.08.1993 to all the economic units under its control, briefing them on "the note elaborated by the Justice Ministry related to the measures that can be taken against persons who trigger or lead illegal strikes and persons who participate in such strikes."

After referring to various passages of Bill 15/1991 on labor conflicts and explaining what labor conflicts actually are and under what circumstances they are considered illegal, the note details, over six further pages, the legal sanctions that may be taken against organizers and participants in illegal strikes. According to the note elaborated by the Ministry of Justice, punishment for such deeds begins with 2,000-lei fines and ends with sentences of life imprisonment. Considering that, in the past, the majority of strikes, even if they strictly abided by Bill 15/1991, were subsequently declared illegal [by courts], and that there can be no strikes that would not cause losses and disturb the activity of the respective companies, it becomes obvious that the organizers and participants in future strikes will be perpetrating actions that "undermine the national economy," and consequently they will be eligible to be sentenced to "five to 20 years imprisonment or detention for life."

In Article 2.3, containing "Conclusions to Article 2," the authors of the note warn all persons who would consider triggering solidarity strikes that such protest actions are considered illegal. "As a consequence of this, so-called solidarity strikes are illegal, and general strikes are solely accepted if they emerge as a sum of the legal strikes taking place in certain branches, otherwise general strikes are to be considered illegal as well."

The authors also mention the fact that "no juridical significance is to be granted to mere announcements

made by trade union confederations or federations stating that they have triggered labor conflicts against the government or certain ministries."

If a labor conflict is declared illegal, punishment begins with 2,000-lei fines "for persons who, by means of verbal threats or violence, prevent other persons from working or make them join the strikers." The same punishment is to be administered to organizers of "strikes for political purposes."

Sanctions may consist of 20-year or even life sentences "if losses are caused to public or private property," as such deeds are considered "infractions of theft or destruction." The same drastic penalty is to be applied "in cases when the normal activity of economic institutions or companies is blocked and this leads to the undermining of the national economy or makes it suffer major losses."

Despite the fact that Paragraph 1 of Article 29 of Bill 15/1991 stipulates that organizing strikes or participating in strikes may not have negative effects upon the said organizers or strikers, the document recently elaborated by the Ministry of Justice warns that "in cases when strikes are declared illegal, the aforementioned legal stipulations are not to be applied."

Government, Unions Fail To Reach Agreement

AU2810204593 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 28 Oct 93

[Text] Negotiations [on wage indexation] were held today between the government and representatives of CNSRL-Fratia [Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Romania], the National Trade Union Block [BNS], and Cartel Alfa. After the conclusion of the talks, Octavian Partenie, the representative of the government, made the following statement:

[Begin Partenie recording] This afternoon, giving course to the request of three trade union confederations, CNSLR-Fratia, Cartel Alfa, and BNS, we continued our talks in the presence of Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu and State Ministers [of Labor] Mircea Dan Popescu and [Finance] Florin Georgescu, in an effort to further clarify issues related to [salary] indexation and minimal salaries.

As a result of those talks, and on the basis of additional examination of those issues, the parties convened upon the following figures: The assessed index of price hikes over the fourth quarter of this year is to amount to 22 percent; 65 percent of these price hikes will be covered by salary indexation, which, together with the salary corrections established for the third quarter, represents an average salary increase of 17.8 percent. They also agreed that salary indexation in sectors financed from the state budget should differ, as those salaries are to be increased by 22 percent. Considering these indexations measures, minimal monthly salaries will amount to 40,200 lei.

Tomorrow we will elaborate the draft of the government decision that will be subsequently sent to each of those trade union confederations so that we could also agree upon technicalities related the implementation of the document. [end Partenie recording]

In his turn, Bogdan Hossu, the leader of Cartel Alfa, stated:

[Begin Hossu recording] The talks that were continued today ended in our disagreement regarding the extent [of salary indexations], as the suggested minimal salaries totally contradict the subsistence needs of the large majority of the population, both employees and other categories, such as pensioners, children, the youth, the unemployed, and handicapped persons. The proposed indexation percentage is far from being sufficient to cover the assessed rate of price rises. The 17.8 percent that was forwarded by the government totally disregards both the recent evolution of inflation and that of the foreign currency exchange rate, that is, the evolution of the prices of consumer goods.

This has made us decide to block further talks, that is to express our disagreement with the point of view of the government. The final decision is to be taken by the conferences of each of our trade union organizations. However, the opinion of the leadership of the Cartel Alfa trade union confederation is that we should consider the 6 May protocol [concluded with the government] legally void, as contractual stipulations have not been observed, and thus we would reopen the labor conflict declared in May. [end Hossu recording]

This is the statement of the CNSLR-Fratia leader, Victor Ciorbea:

[Begin Ciorbea recording] We had a meeting with the prime minister, Mr. Nicolae Vacaroiu, upon our request. The mandate given to us by the executive committee of CNSLR-Fratia was to negotiate a salary indexation to a minimum proportion of 22 percent. Unfortunately the government merely offered us 17.8 percent.

The executive committee has also established that we should request minimal salaries worth at least 55,000 lei. However, the minimal salaries offered by the government merely amount to 40,000 lei.

Considering the fact that issues related to economic restructuring, the economic and financial blockage of the companies, and another eight demands that we had forwarded in writing to the prime minister have not been approached in detail, on 18 November, in accordance with the decision of our executive committee, we will commence actions of union struggle by organizing a rally in Bucharest. Subsequently we will also adopt other forms of struggle. [end Ciorbea recording]

Government Communique Details Wage Indexation

AU2910112393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] The government has issued a communique stating that salary indexations over the fourth quarter of this year will amount to 17.8 percent for employees of economic companies and public corporations and 22.2 percent for employees of institutions financed from the state budget. The communique also states that after the decision is adopted, it will become effective 1 October, [with the employees receiving retroactive pay].

The aforementioned proposals of the government have been rejected by the trade union confederations CNSLR-Fratia, Cartel Alfa, and the Alliance of Democratic Trade Unions, which announced that they will initiate actions of union struggle next month.

Chances of Unification With Moldova Viewed

AU3110191993 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2117 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Bucharest BASAPRESS, 29/10/1993—Corneliu Coposu, the chairman of the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party [PNTCD], had a meeting at Bucharest University with professors and students. Coposu underlined that the West considered the Baltic states independent occupied states. "In the case of Moldova, Russia is reminding us of a kind of pact between the USSR and Romania, according to which Moldova had been given away benevolently." The Party considers Bessarabia a Romanian land, but the reunification of the state could solely be possible with the consent of people from the left bank of Prut river, said Coposu. He thinks that a moment when unification would have been really possible was after the fall of the Soviet empire in August 1991. Since then, the people of both Romanian states became more distant.

Corneliu Coposu stated to BASA that the Dniester region authorities will not have the courage to apply the death penalty in the Ilascu trial, because "many parties have intervened and all organizations of human rights protection were mobilized."

Industrial Output Increases 4 Percent

AU2810111593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0738 GMT 28 Oct 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 28/10/1993—According to the data supplied by the National Commission for Statistics, industrial output in September 1993 registered an increase of four percent as to August. The output in the first nine months of 1993 in the extractive and power fields was 1.4 percent higher and 6.4 percent respectively compared with the same period of 1992. Substantial growths were registered in the production of road transport means of 28 percent and in the furniture industry of 25.7 percent.

The output for September went high in 22 industrial branches as to the month of August and in other 20 units it slightly outpassed the level scored in September 1992. Industrial output in the first nine months of the year was worth 9,536.3 billion lei of which 1,422.5 billion lei were registered in September.

Contracts concluded by economic agents in the processing industry during the same period was worth 7,760.4 billion lei (809.8 billion lei in September). Contracts that failed to be observed represented some 105.5 billion lei in the iron-and-steel industry; 65 billion lei in the machine-building industry; 18.9 billion lei in the chemical and petrochemical industry etc. The number of staff employed in industry reached in September 2,560.2 thousands once with the growth of production, with 6.8 thousands more than in August.

Economic Stagnation, European Integration Viewed

AU2810201493 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 26 Oct 93 p 3

[Article by Nicolae Macovei: "Form Without Substance"]

[Text] Beyond the "penetration" of European structures—which affects the "scope" of the economic stagnation that is troubling us too little for the time being—the standard of living of our citizens continues to deteriorate alarmingly, as does the trend of abnormal price increases. As for purchasing power, it is constantly plummeting. The poor are becoming more and more numerous and ever poorer. Socioeconomic mechanisms designed to help people live better prove incapable of improving their operation. There is a tragic discordance between the quality of life and everyday realities, thus forcing individuals to race against the clock to survive. And I am not talking merely of the lives of a small number of people, who also enjoyed a good life under the communist dictatorship and, certainly, do so today in a "democratic" society. I am talking of the great majority of those who have no other means of survival than their work, and who place their hopes and depend on the "reward" they receive in state enterprises. From this point of view, almost nothing of what happens in 1993 is different from what was happening, let's say, in 1983. The only major difference today is the fact that people are free to express what they think. But this essential component, capable of changing a person's life for the better, seems to have no practical importance. Thus, it seems that there is no causal link between the natural dissatisfaction of the citizen and the equally natural obligation of the government to account for the stagnation we are enduring. Those in power are assuming less and less responsibility for the current economic and moral disaster. They seem to abide by the principle "dogs bark, but the caravan passes on." They continue, nonchalantly, to look after their narrow interests or

improving their "image" in the world, while the Romanian nation, which, after all, is bearing the brunt of the "transition," continues to just survive.

It seems that there is no longer any link between politics and normal daily reality; hence the lack of interest in what happened in the past or what is going to happen in the future. Indeed, what importance has the past or the future, for that matter, when the present is nothing but a constant and undeserved "struggle" for survival? The government, parliament, and Presidency do not signal the adoption of necessary laws linked to economic recovery and the operation of the market economy. The constant and active support of the state should offer small- and medium-sized property and small- and medium-sized enterprises—with state or private capital—is nonexistent and, anyhow, inefficient when it does exist. The state and its basic institutions, managed by former communist activists or by new "democratic" activists, continues to look after the national wealth, contrary to the modern and democratic principle based on economic efficiency, competitiveness, and profit. The restructuring and reorganization of the national economy on management bases continue to be accepted by those in power only in theory; in practice they throw obstacles in the way of economic mechanisms able to take the country out of this stagnation. State enterprises continue to produce for the sake of producing and stockpiles represent the majority of "assets" in which they take "patriotic" pride. One has the impression that, in fact, those in power have nothing more important to do than "defend" the interests of "leaders." The price paid, namely the constant deterioration of the standard of living of the Romanian nation, does not interest them. And this "energetic" policy promoted by the executive power, uninterested in what is happening to the citizen during his short life on our "fatherland's" soil, looks pretty much like that which we experienced not so long ago. From this point of view, the Ceausescu dictatorship recorded real "accomplishments," which make the current "leaders" look incompetent. At that time, the West offered Romania a real chance, though limited, to overcome the situation of being a "satellite" of Russia. The current executive power is not offering Romania any such favorable conditions for economic development, on the contrary. It is, obviously, tolerated by Western institutional structures only because of what it "represents" because of free elections: the Romanian civilian society on its way to being organized. The mediocrity or even irresponsibility of the current executive power is, in fact, interpreted as a "character trait" that cannot be changed for the time being. From this point of view, our "penetration" into European structures represents only a blank check given to the Romanian nation, a sort of "form without any substance."

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 1 November

WA0111172893

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Bosnian President Izetbegovic reportedly warns Croatian Government not to support western Bosnian Muslim leader Abdic as clashes among Muslims continue ... Bosnian Croats claim Stupni Do massacre perpetrated by Muslims ... Croat forces reportedly force 3,000 Muslims out of Vares.

MILITARY

IZETBEGOVIC WARNS ZAGREB: Sarajevo Radio says supporters of western Bosnian Muslim leader Abdic are "fanatically attacking" Bosnian Army Troops, while Zagreb Radio reports Abdic loyalists captured 30 Bosnian Army soldiers during infantry attack. Zagreb TV says Bosnian President Izetbegovic has sent letter to Croatian Government threatening to recognize Serbian Krajina in Croatia unless Zagreb "stops giving media and other kinds of support" to Abdic. (LD3010202093, LD3010235193, LD3010232493)

HUMANITARIAN

CROATS BLAME MASSACRE ON MUSLIMS (TANJUG): Denying UNPROFOR reports that they had massacred Muslim civilians in Stupni Do, Bosnian Croat forces say that victims of massacre were actually "local Serbs" killed by Muslims after they were used as "human shields" during an attack on Croatian positions. (LD3110191093)

MUSLIMS DRIVEN OUT OF VARES: Sarajevo Radio reports that 3,000 Muslims were "driven out" of Vares by Croatian "criminals." AFP says UNHCR have sent officials to investigate reports. (LD3010121593, AU0111094993)

Muslim Clashes Continue in Western Bosnia

LD3110184593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 31 Oct 93

[Text] Fierce fighting between Izetbegovic's units and Fikret Abdic's forces of people's defense continued today in the autonomous province of western Bosnia.

According to the Western Bosnia news agency the 5th Corps, loyal to Alija Izetbegovic, was again heavily defeated in the village of Johovici. Two brigades, commanded by Atif Dudakovic, and the entire sabotage-terrorist Sanske Muhe unit found themselves completely surrounded, the agency reports a statement from the information service of the ministry of defense and police of the autonomous province of western Bosnia.

The same source goes on to say that Abdic's forces of people's defense have liberated the village of Mrcelje near Johovica, and have moved the defense line a further 2 km into enemy territory. One person was killed and one wounded among Abdic's fighters, and there are many dead and wounded among the fighters of Izetbegovic's 5th Corps, the statement concludes.

TANJUG Reports Fighting

LD3110162993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1605 GMT 31 Oct 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 31 (TANJUG)—Fierce fighting between local Moslems and Croats continued on Saturday [30 October] and Sunday in the central part of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatian Radio and Moslem Radio Sarajevo reported.

Croatian Radio reported that fierce fighting has been underway on Sunday between Moslems and local Croat forces, Croatian Defense Council (HVO), in the suburbs of Vares and its vicinity.

HVO forces on October 23 massacred the Moslem population in the near by village of Stupni Do.

U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) members have discovered 25 mutilated bodies so far and the U.N. Security Council strongly condemned the crime on Thursday.

HVO headquarters announced that Moslem forces on Sunday burned down Croat houses and apprehended 90 civilians in the village of Dubosnica near Vares and attacked the Croat settlement of Gornja Prapratnica near Zavidovici.

The Moslem authorities in the Prozor municipality on Sunday declared general mobilization for a final showdown with the aggressor from the Republic of Croatia and the Bosnian Croat state, Herceg-Bosna, which has destroyed and burned down 31 Moslem villages and expelled or apprehended over 8,000 Moslems in the last year, Radio Sarajevo reported.

Bosnian Moslems and Croats have been fiercely fighting since the beginning of the year in the central and southern part of Bosnia-Herzegovina and both sides have been accusing each other of ethnic cleansing on territories they control.

The Army of the Republic of Croatia carried out an aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina fighting first on the side of local Croats and Moslems in the war against Bosnian Serbs and now aiding the local Croats in a showdown with Moslems.

Death Toll Nears 100

LD3010202093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Oct 93

[Text] Along the front lines in Johovica and Skokovi, where the tragic fratricidal humiliation of the Muslim people is taking place, the insurgents are fanatically attacking members of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The number of casualties is rising by the hour, despite many appeals made by the fighters and officers of the 5th Corps and the citizens of the Bihac region to the effect that this tragic conflict, concocted in the heads of the greatest enemies of the Muslim people, be resolved in a peaceful and sensible way without bloodshed. The members of the 5th Corps have so far lost 13 comrades in arms, and 40 members of the Army will bear the tragic scars of the insane idea of autonomy.

According to reports by the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR], during the battles waged in Johovica two days ago 20 people died under the banner of the so-called autonomous province of western Bosnia.

The chetniks are watching the conflict from a distance and are contributing to this bloodshed by opening direct fire from their long-range artillery pieces. One of their howitzer shells fired from the so-called republic of Serbian Krajina has killed seven people in a position held by the army of the so-called autonomous province of western Bosnia. The casualty toll is unfortunately not the final one. The medical center of Velika Kladusa reports that it has recorded 75 deaths since the beginning of the armed rebellion.

It is high time that the perpetrators of this futile bloodshed heeded the 5th Corps' proposals that an unconditional cease-fire should take effect. [passage indistinct]

Pro-Izetbegovic Soldiers Captured

LD3010235193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 30 Oct 93

[Text] On the Western Bosnia battlefield, soldiers of the 5th Corps [of Muslim army loyal to Izetbegovic] commanded by Atif Dudakovic have launched artillery and mortar attacks shelling civilian targets in the villages of Johovica and Skokovi. Infantry attacks have been attempted in the Todorovo area. Defenders of the autonomous province of western Bosnia have arrested 30

soldiers of the 5th Corps of the Bosanska Krupa Brigade and have taken them to Velika Kladusa.

Izetbegovic Warns Zagreb

LD3010232493 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2220 GMT 30 Oct 93

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic has sent an ultimatum to Zagreb to the effect that if Zagreb continues to support western Bosnia, he will recognize Serb Krajina:

[Begin recording, identified by screen caption as from Bosnian Serb-controlled TV Banja Luka news bulletin] It has been learned from Muslim sources that Alija Izetbegovic has sent an ultimatum to Franjo Tudjman demanding that the Croatian media and the Croatian Government stop giving media and any other kind of support to the secession of western Bosnia and to its leader Fikret Abdic, a Muslim traitor. In his letter, Alija demands an urgent cessation of support for Fikret Abdic, otherwise he will publicly recognize the republic of Serb Krajina. The tone of the letter leads to a conclusion that complications in relations between Zagreb and Sarajevo are continuing. [end recording]

Presidency Discusses Conflict

LD3110215893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 31 Oct 93

[Text] At today's session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, chaired by Alija Izetbegovic, it was decided to use all available means to oppose the act of secession by Fikret Abdic and his supporters. The involvement of Serbia and Croatia in the events in Cazin Krajina was also discussed at the session as well as our state's possible countermeasures in response to such acts on the part of neighboring countries. [passage indistinct]

Abdic Supporter Comments

LD3110222293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 31 Oct 93

[Text] Irfan Saracevic, previously appointed minister of defense and police of the autonomous region [of western Bosnia], has managed to leave Bihac and cross to the free territory of the autonomous province of western Bosnia. Saracevic stated in Velika Kladusa that military authorities loyal to Izetbegovic under the command of Ramiz Drekovic had been torturing civilians and the army over the past few weeks.

Citizens of Bihac, Saracevic says, live under fascist-type pressure, while soldiers who refuse to shoot at their own people are beaten up and imprisoned. Prominent citizens are disappearing overnight, while mojahedin are patrolling the streets of Bihac. As the local prisons are already teeming with civilians and the army, cellars of residential buildings have been turned into prisons of their own kind, the Western Bosnian Information Agency says quoting Saracevic's statement.

UNHCR To Send Officials to Vares Area

AU0111094993 Paris AFP in English 0940 GMT 1 Nov 93

[Text] Zagreb, Nov 1 (AFP)—The UNHCR is sending officials to the strife-torn Vares region Monday [1 November] amid reports that 1,500 panic-struck Moslems have fled surrounding villages fearing a repeat of a massacre in a nearby hamlet, a spokesman said.

Moslems were heading for the woods in a desperate attempt to avoid bitter fighting between the Bosnian Army and Croat forces, said Peter Kessler, spokesman for the office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees here.

Meanwhile, Croats were leaving their villages and pouring into Vares—a Croat-majority town—because of rumours of an impending attack by the mainly-Moslem Bosnian Army, he added.

"We have somebody going into the Vares area today (Monday) to try to visit villages in the area as well as the town itself," he said.

"We think there are some 1,500 Moslems in villages around Vares who may have fled into the woods.

"(The situation) is very tense (in the area) and the Croats fear there will be a Bosnian Army attack, which is simply their fear," he added.

The U.N. Protection Force has accused Croat forces of war crimes after the massacre of 25 Moslems in an October 23 attack on the hamlet of Stupni Do, three kilometres (one and a half miles) south of Vares.

UNHCR officials sent to the area would assess the needs of the people there and try to persuade them to stay in their homes, he said.

Fleeing villages could be unconsciously putting themselves at greater risk by quitting their homes, said Kessler.

"By fleeing into the woods they have put themselves into some danger. If they are in small groups in the woods they are more vulnerable.

"If the U.N. did have the opportunity to move the ones who have allegedly fled into the woods it would be harder to locate them," he said. He could not say whether the world body was planning such a move.

Death Toll Rises

AU2910123793 Paris AFP in English 1221 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Oct 29 (AFP)—More than 100 Moslems sought refuge with UN peacekeepers in the central town of Vares Friday [29 October] as investigators uncovered more bodies from a Croat massacre of Moslems in nearby Stupni Do, UN spokesmen said.

Idesbald van Biesebroeck, a spokesman with the Scandinavian UN contingent in Vares, said 110 Moslems had sought shelter at the UN camp in the Croat-controlled town 50 kilometres (30 miles) north of Sarajevo.

He said houses were seen burning overnight in two villages around Vares and nearby Stupni Do.

UN peacekeepers were also keep a close watch on two schools in Vares where Croat forces have been holding 200 of the town's Moslems.

EC investigators meanwhile said they had now found a total of 25 bodies in Stupni Do, but about one hundred of the village's 250 Moslem inhabitants were still missing after Saturday's massacre.

They said most of corpses were so badly-burned they were unidentifiable and some bore signs of torture.

Bosnian Croat forces (HVO) carried out the massacre at Stupni Do to avenge a Moslem attack on the nearby village of Kupjari October 21. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, the new head of the UN body investigating war crimes in ex-Yugoslavia arrived Thursday to look into reports of atrocities in the region, including rapes, killings and torture.

Sherif Bassiouni was due to focus on trying to unearth evidence from an alleged mass graveyard near Vukovar in northeastern Croatia, an area occupied by Serbian forces.

"This is very important for purely humanitarian reasons," Bassiouni said after arriving. "There are many families that would like to know (the whereabouts of) the remains of their sons and husbands."

But he said UN investigators would also focus on documenting all kinds of atrocities carried out in the chaos of the last 19 months of war in the region.

A baby suffering from a brain disease died in the east Bosnian town of Gorazde Thursday after a medical evacuation convoy was held up by local Serbs refusing safe passage, Ray Wilkinson, a UN High Commission for Refugees official said.

He added that three other children in a "critical state" were unlikely to survive protracted negotiations with Serbs over authorising access along frontlines.

Meanwhile Friday, France's idea of setting up a "humanitarian route" around Sarajevo to stop the Bosnian capital enduring another winter under siege received Germany's backing, diplomatic sources at an EC summit in Brussels said.

Bosnia-Herzegovina was relatively calm Thursday except in Sarajevo, Mostar in the south and Gornji Vakuf in the southwest, UNPROFOR spokesmen here said. [passage omitted]

Muslims Reportedly Driven Out

LD3010121593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 30 Oct 93

[Text] [Announcer] According to information from the 3rd Corps [of the Bosnian Army], ustasha criminals are continuing their persecution of Muslims in the Vares area [east-central Bosnia]. Three thousand Muslims were driven out of Vares and a further 300 from the village of (?Vratinsko) yesterday.

[Reporter] There are signs that ethnic cleansing is being carried out by Boban's followers in areas of central Bosnia. Not even the condemnation of the massacre in Stupni Do by the Security Council, EC, and the whole world was able to prevent the Croats from carrying out their intention of destroying everything Bosnian.

According to the statements of expelled civilians, those who have remained in the Vares area have been subjected to ill treatment and various forms of pressure to get them to leave their homes and leave their belongings to the extremists.

A large number of Bosnians are in camps in the town, and a number of them were killed when their homes were raided or in other ways. [passage omitted]

Croats: Muslims Massacred Serbs

LD3110191093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1844 GMT 31 Oct 93

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 31 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Croat leadership on Sunday [31 October] gave its version of the massacre of the civilian population in the village of Stupni Do in central Bosnia and presented 'the assumption' that the victims were Serbs and the crime was committed by Moslems.

According to a U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) report, Bosnian Croat forces (HVO) committed the massacre of the civilian Moslem population in Stupni Do on October 23.

UNPROFOR so far discovered 25 mutilated bodies in the village which had around 250 predominantly Moslem inhabitants and clearly accused the Bosnian Croat forces of the crime. This has caused an avalanche of disgust around the world including a strong condemnation of Bosnian Croats by the U.N. Security Council on Thursday.

A statement of the leadership of the Bosnian Croat state, Herzeg Bosnia, which was quoted by news agency FRANCE PRESS from Zagreb, denied the responsibility of Bosnian Croat forces for the massacre and presents 'an assumption' that the victims were 'local Serbs' who were killed by Moslems after they were used as 'a human shield' during an attack on Croat positions.

Moslem forces took dozens of local Serbs from Stupni Do as hostages on October 22, the statement said adding that all Moslem civilians fled the village on the night of

October 23-24 to the neighbouring Moslem village of Budozelje. The statement said that later Moslem forces tried to pierce the Bosnian Croat forces' line of defense using Serb women as a human shield.

Presidency To Continue Crime Crackdown in Army

AU2910194993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] At today's session, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency assessed as successful a joint action by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army aimed at curbing indiscipline, unlawfulness, and crime in the ranks of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

The statement by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency states that the action commenced must be continued resolutely on the territory of the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Presidency regrets the victims that have fallen at the hands of the criminals and expresses its condolences to the families of the deceased.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency passed a decision to relieve the following people of their duties: Senad Kreho, chairman of the Sarajevo District Military Court; Fahrudin Teftedarija, judge of the Sarajevo District Military Court; Mustafa Bisic, Sarajevo district military prosecutor; and Ismet Hamzic, deputy Sarajevo district military prosecutor.

At the same time the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency appointed Idriz Kamenica as president of the Sarajevo District Military Court and Amir Jaganjac as a judge in the Sarajevo District Military Court. Ismet Mekic was appointed district military prosecutor and Zlatan Fazlagic deputy district military prosecutor, it is written at the end of the statement from today's session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

Silajdzic Presents Muslim-Dominated 'War Cabinet'

AU3010141493 Paris AFP in English 1346 GMT 30 Oct 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Oct 30 (AFP)—New Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic has shown he is preparing for many months of fighting with the formation of a Moslem-led "war cabinet" featuring three new conflict-related ministries.

The government, sworn in Friday [29 October], is dominated by Moslems and members of the mainly-Moslem Democratic Action Party of President Alija Izetbegovic.

Silajdzic said his government's task was to "save the population from hunger, death and cold" as winter approached the country, devastated by 18 months of fighting which has forced 2.5 million people to flee.

"It is a fact that Moslems make up 99 percent of the Bosnian defence force," Silajdzic told AFP Saturday, "so it is natural that they form the government.

"When that proportion changes, so will the representation in the government."

Only four cabinet posts—foreign economic relations, information and two posts without portfolio—went to non-Moslems.

Previous Bosnian cabinets featured Bosnian Croats in key positions, reflecting the two ethnic groups' alliance against the Bosnian Serbs.

However, tension between the two communities in Sarajevo has risen since the Bosnian Croat and Moslem alliance fell apart nationally earlier this year, leading to bitter fighting between the two communities in central and southern Bosnia.

The seven-member collective presidency, expanded in wartime to include the premier and army commander—now both Moslems—is the only Bosnian institution to retain its multi-ethnic character.

On foreign policy Silajdzic said his government remained willing to negotiate, "but not on the basis of blackmail and ultimatums."

He criticised the international community for accepting the territorial gains made by the Serbs during the 18-month war.

The Bosnian Government has refused to sign the peace plan put forward by the Geneva conference mediators Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg as offering insufficient territory to the Moslems and no secure outlet to the sea.

The world had committed itself to protecting Bosnia's civilians against sieges and bombardment, Silajdzic said in a pointed reminder of Serb attacks on Moslem enclaves around the country.

In his inauguration speech, Silajdzic said the government had to create a "war economy", mobilising all its resources for defence and survival.

For the first time, the cabinet includes a minister of war production, a minister of refugees and a group of ministries for dealing with the besieged regions of Tuzla, Zenica, Mostar and Bihac.

Minister of War Production Rusmir Mahmutcehajic is expected to build on his achievements as minister of energy and mines in rechanneling Bosnia's industrial assets towards the manufacture of small arms, mortars, artillery guns and anti-tank weapons.

Croat officials have said that this burgeoning arms industry, based in the engineering factories of Sarajevo and the central town of Zenica, is capable of supply the Bosnian Government forces for 12 months.

The creation of the ministries for the cut-off regions such as Tuzla was seen here as a clear attempt to prevent these far-flung communities from declaring themselves autonomous, as Bihac did on September 27.

The Bosnian Government ordered its loyalist troops in the region to take control of the region after rebel Bihac leader Fikret Abdic called on the residents of the northwestern enclave to defy Sarajevo.

The army succeeded in taking control of most of Bihac, but the attempted secession provoked fears in Sarajevo that the other isolated communities might follow suit.

Serbian Command: Decrease in Clashes With Muslims

LD2910130993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1200 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 29 (TANJUG)—There were no major clashes on Thursday night [29 October] and Friday morning on the majority of demarcation lines separating army units loyal to radical Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic and the Bosnian Serb army, TANJUG reports citing the Bosnian Serb army command.

The command said that the Muslim attacks have lost in force and scope compared to the previous period.

Troops loyal to Izetbegovic carried out somewhat stronger attacks on Serb positions in the Sarajevo front and in the region of Doboj (northern Bosnia-Herzegovina), the command said.

No fighting was reported in the eastern borders of the Bosnian Serb Republic, along the left bank of the Drina river, local Bosnian Serb commands said.

Serb military authorties in Trebinje (eastern Herzegovina), said on Friday that Thursday night had been quiet on the Herzegovine front with only minor provocations by Muslim units loyal to Izetbegovic in the regions of Foca and Cajnice.

UNPROFOR Accused of Helping Croats Launch Attack

LD3010170793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Oct 93

[Text] The suffering of the Bosnian people in the old part of Vitez is continuing. The ustashas are swooping down on this part of Vitez using all available means, most frequently explosive devices of huge destructive power, and destroying the remaining houses. What they fail to finish off in this primitive way they succeed in achieving by the use of accurate artillery weapons. Consequently, the movements of the inhabitants of the old part of Vitez in their search for firewood and food are very risky because ustasha snipers are active at every corner.

For more than six months—the time the ustasha blockade of this part of the town has been going on—dozens of Bosnian civilians have been killed by sniper fire. The rest of the population is subjected to hunger and cold and if they do not get help are in danger of dying. [passage indistinct]

All this is happening under the eyes of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] which is stationed near the old part of Vitez. However incomprehensible the (?irrationality) of the international community, its organizations, and its military forces may be, what happened in Busovaca yesterday is even more incomprehensible: At about 1700 a Croatian helicopter belonging to the Croatian Army, escorted by two UN planes, flew in. It unloaded its cargo and took off. In order to prevent action by our air defense forces, the two planes emitted two flare-type decoys. This appeared to embolden the Busovaca ustashas who launched a fierce infantry attack to try to recapture the positions they lost in the region of [word indistinct]. However, fighters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army prevented this attempt at an infantry breakthrough across our defense lines and inflicted fresh casualties on the ustasha aggressor. From the press center of the 3rd Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

Karadzic: Serbs Willing To Open Bar-Sarajevo Route

LD3110145193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1354 GMT 31 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Kragujevac, 31 Oct (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic of Srpska said today that he supported [UN Secretary General] Butrus-Ghali's appeal for all confrontations in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina to end and for passage for humanitarian convoys to all sides to be secured .

On Kragujevac Radio's The Stamp of the Time program Karadzic noted that the Serbs "are already acting in this fashion" and that the Serbian side "is virtually not [taking part] in the war [any more]."

"We are, in agreement with the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry, also willing to open Bar [port on Montenegrin coast]-Sarajevo route, if the routes to Sarajevo through central Bosnia are closed. In other words, not only are we not provoking attacks, but we are also not responding to them. We are offering our territory for the passage of humanitarian convoys," Karadzic stressed.

[Passage omitted]

Serbs Free British UN Helicopter Pilots

AU0111100093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 1 Nov 93

[Text] The British pilots with the UN forces, who were held by the (?Serbs) as hostages in Sokolac, have been released. This was stated last night by the British forces' spokesman in Split. (?Wils Peterson) said that the helicopters were returned to the Kiseljak military base. He expressed suspicion that the helicopters and their crews

were used as pawns in the power struggle between the Serbian military commander Ratko Mladic and the war criminal Radovan Karadzic.

Sniper Shoots French Journalist on Road to Pale

AU2910152093 Paris AFP in English 1359 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Oct 29 (AFP)—French journalist Paul Marchand, a correspondent for Radio France Internationale and Radio Canada, was shot and seriously wounded Friday [29 October] by a sniper in a Serb-held suburb of Sarajevo.

The journalist, accompanied by a fellow reporter and a translator, had just been turned back at a Serb checkpoint on the road leading from Sarajevo to Pale, the headquarters of the Serb-proclaimed republic in Bosnia, when he was wounded by a single shot through the right arm.

Marchand, 32, who has covered the war in Bosnia since July 1992 and who previously spent seven years covering the war in Lebanon, was to be evacuated to France later in the day.

No Claims of Responsibility for Paris Bank Attack

LD2910153793 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1500 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] A Molotov cocktail was thrown at a bank in Paris a short time ago. Two people were injured. The Bosphorous Bank, located on the Rue de Nancy in the 10th arrondissement was attacked; a fire was quickly extinguished. One employee was slightly injured; a client suffered more serious injuries. Emergency personnel are treating the wounded on site.

UN Announces Temporary Suspension of Aid Flights

LD3110193893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1922 GMT 31 Oct 93

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 31 (TANJUG)—The United Nations decided to temporarily suspend special humanitarian flights to Sarajevo after unidentified forces opened fire on Sunday afternoon [31 October] on Sarajevo airport wounding a French officer.

Reuter quoted UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] spokesman Bill Aikman as saying that "the airlifts have been suspended for the moment until the situation is clarified."

Aikman said a decision whether to resume the flights would be taken on Monday after the matter was looked into.

Electricity Reaches 'Only Some' Priority Consumers

AU2910112593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] The Information Service of the Electricity Board of Bosnia-Herzegovina has announced that only some of the priority consumers have electricity. The repair of the high-voltage transmission lines is under way, so Sarajevo is expected to get more electricity by the end of the day.

The communes of Novo Sarajevo and Novi Grad are receiving water from the Bacevo spring. The city's Water Board is warning the citizens that this water is not chlorinated. The amount of water from the Skenderija and Kobilja Glava reservoirs will not today meet even the minimum of the population's needs from this part of the city.

The bakery produced bread overnight for 70 percent of Sarajevo's communes. All the soup kitchens, collective accommodation facilities, and hospitals in the city will receive bread.

Tudjman Denounces International Coverage of Bosnia

LD3010185593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Oct 93

[Text] During this broadcast we received, via HINA [Croatian news agency], a statement from the president of the Republic. The office of the president of the Republic today issued a statement about the commentaries on the crimes in Stupni Do which have appeared in the world's media, and in connection with statements by individual politicians. We are broadcasting this statement in full. It says:

As early as 6 September, Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman reacted decisively to the criminal phenomena, sending to Mate Boban, president of the republic of Herceg-Bosna, and all bodies of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, the most powerful appeal for respect for human dignity, basic human values and rights, and for the strictest application of international wartime and humanitarian law.

At the same time, President Tudjman condemned in the sharpest terms all violations of international wartime and humanitarian law, with an appeal to the authorities in Herceg-Bosna to immediately ensure humane behavior, in keeping with international humanitarian law and the Geneva conventions, and ensure the unhampered dispatch of humanitarian aid to all those in need of it.

As soon as he learned of the crimes committed in Stupni Do, President Tudjman brought his full influence to bear, requesting resolutely that a thorough investigation be carried out as soon as possible and that the perpetrators be punished.

In accordance with the president's order, Dr. Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, was put in charge of this. In a statement on 28 October, Granic repeated the president's views and demanded that the authorities in the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, in cooperation with the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR], clarify the circumstances in which the crime took place and establish who perpetrated it.

The order includes mention of the fact that the crimes were committed in a Croatian enclave which for months has been under a long-lasting and powerful siege by Muslim forces, i.e. in an area with which communications—even in earlier times—were very difficult, and especially so during the Muslim offensive, when the slaughter took place in Stupni Do.

The Republic of Croatia sharply condemns all crimes, regardless of who committed them. Nevertheless, it cannot go without being noticed that crimes against Croats do not attract world media attention or the concern of political circles to the same extent as when Muslims are killed.

Thus, for example, many reputable newspapers and television stations, which are now condemning Croats in the sharpest terms, including CNN, ARD, NEW YORK TIMES, WASHINGTON POST, SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, DER STANDARD and others, have paid virtually no attention at all to the crime committed against 38 Croatian civilians by the Muslim army in the village of Uzdol, or other crimes committed by Muslim formations against Croats in Travnik, Bugojno, Konjic, and many other places.

The international community has failed to condemn the crimes against innocent Croatian civilians, even though UNPROFOR has confirmed that some of the crimes were committed. However, it is pointed out that UNPROFOR was not allowed to enter Stupni Do for three days, but nothing was said about the grim fact that UNPROFOR has for months been unable to reach certain localities where Croats are under arrest and are being tortured. Nothing has been said about the fact that some Croatian enclaves, besieged by Muslims, have been prevented from receiving elementary humanitarian and medical aid; this has been the case for a long time with Nova Bila [the only Croatian hospital in central Bosnia].

This could lead to the conclusion that double standards are being applied regarding Muslim and Croatian casualties. This is unacceptable. This attitude toward establishing the guilt of certain parties in the conflict does not help the effort to achieve a just peace in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Republic of Croatia is genuine in its desire to cooperate with the international community in stopping the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and bringing to justice all those guilty of crimes. At the same time, Croatia expects the Serbs and the Muslims to offer the same level of cooperation, not only to identify and punish those guilty of crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina but also to prevent further crimes. Croatia also expects the international community and the international war crimes tribunal to investigate all crimes committed in the territory of the Republic of Croatia during the Serbian aggression, particularly in the Vukovar area, where the fate of thousands of missing Croatian citizens has not still been established.

It should also be said that condemnations and efforts will not be sufficient for the international community if more resolute steps are not made to stop ethnic and religious conflicts. This implies the removal of causes for all bloody conflicts, including those in Abkhazia as well as those that have been burdening Northern Ireland and some other European regions over so many years.

This is said at the end of the statement issued by the office of the president of the Republic.

Abdic-Boban Statement Condemns Izetbegovic

AU0111093693 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 23 Oct 93 p 9

[HINA report on the joint statement of president of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna Mate Boban, and president of the autonomous province of western Bosnia Fikret Abdic, issued in Zagreb on 21 October: "Izetbegovic's Actions Unconstitutional and Violent"]

[Text] Accepting the principles of the London conference, and taking into account the solutions proposed by the peace conference in Geneva concerning the constitutional organization of the future union of Bosnia-Herzegovina; considering the historical interests of the Croatian and Muslim peoples; believing in the need for constant improvement of trust between the Croatian and Muslim peoples and for taking efficient measures therein; taking into account the Geneva declaration and the agreements between the representatives of the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina of 14 September 1993, Mate Boban, president of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, and Fikret Abdic, president of the autonomous province of western Bosnia, signed a joint statement the night before last [21 October], which listed the following:

1. Considering the good relations between the Croats and Muslims in the autonomous province of western Bosnia, threatened by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army armed attacks on the legal authorities and the civilian, mostly Muslim, population of the autonomous province, we are determined to do whatever we can to stop all the conflicts on the territory of the union of the republics, and to establish peace in the autonomous province of western Bosnia. The Bihac HVO [Croatian Defense Council] troops will therefore remain part of the armed forces of the autonomous province of western Bosnia.

2. We consider the changes in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, made by the Presidency headed by Alija Izetbegovic, unconstitutional and violent, as they can be made only if a member of the Presidency resigns, or if he is revoked by the electoral body. This act has abolished the last democratically elected institution in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and it is contrary to the Geneva agreement and the agreements of 14 September this year, concerning the creating of conditions for new friendly relations and the cooperation between the Croat and Muslim peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

3. The signatories of this statement will support the establishment of close friendly relations between the autonomous province of western Bosnia and the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna in the union of the republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

4. We appeal to all sides strictly to abide by international war law and humanitarian law, to provide complete freedom of movement for humanitarian convoys and civilians, and to enforce the protection of human rights and freedoms.

Krajina Serbs Report Government Attacks

LD3010205293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1858 GMT 30 Oct 93

[Text] Belgrade, 30 October (TANJUG)—Croatian armed forces have continued their attacks in Drnis and Benkovac areas, ISKRA agency [Serb Krajina news agency] reports citing a statement issued by the press center of the main headquarters of the Serb Krajina army. The enemy launched mortar attacks on the village of Baljci, and from 1600 the town of Drnis itself came under ustasha artillery attack, which resulted in considerable material damage, ISKRA has reported.

The enemy has continued its howitzer attacks on the village of Biljane Gornje in the Benkovac area. According to the same source, the Croatian aggressor has still not retreated from the occupied area of Sirinci in western Slavonia abandoned by members of the Nepalese battalion on 24 October.

Serbs Meet To Discuss Land Exchange Rumors

AU2910210393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Report by Jovan Vlajkovic from Okucani]

[Text] An extraordinary session of the assembly of western Slavonia was held in Okucani today. The only item on the agenda of today's assembly session was the political and security situation on the territory of western Slavonia.

President of the Serbian Krajina Goran Hadzic, Mile Paspalj, president of the great assembly of the republic of Serbian Krajina, and General Mile Novakovic, supreme commander of the Serbian Krajina army, took part in the session as guests.

As Assembly Chairman Djordje Damjanovic said in his introductory speech, the assembly has been called because of increasingly frequent speculations by the Croatian media and some politicians about a trade off or sale of Western Slavonia. Goran Hadzic, president of the republic of Serbian Krajina, commented on all this with the words: Okucani has always enjoyed the reputation of a symbol of Serbianhood and for this reason there have never been any talks or negotiations about the sale or exchange of western Slavonia anywhere.

The assembly session ended with a unanimous conclusion that the territory of western Slavonia is and will remain an integral part of the republic of Serbian Krajina.

Istrian Italians Demand Revision of Osimo Accords

LD3010143293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1354 GMT 30 Oct 93

[Text] Ljubljana, October 30 (TANJUG)—A union rallying ethnic Italians in Istria, a peninsula on the Croatian and Slovenian part of the Adriatic, has officially asked Rome to start an initiative for the revision of the Osimo accords, documents signed by former Yugoslavia and Italy in 1975 to settle the question of demarcation between the two countries.

Istria Italians, as well as many political organisations in Italy, maintain that the Osimo accords automatically became invalid when former Yugoslavia disintegrated. They now demand that the Istrian peninsula and a part of Dalmatia be again placed under the Italian rule.

A delegation of Istria Italians, who recently visited Rome and Trieste, also demanded from the Italian Government to protect their rights in the 'emerging states,' as they refer to the violently seceded former Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Slovenia.

Istria has a 25,000-strong Italian minority, which has been artificially divided by the Croatian-Slovenian border on the peninsula after the two former Yugoslav republics seceded from former Yugoslavia.

During talks with Italian Foreign Minister Beniamino Andreatta and officials of the regional Friuli-Venezia Giulia government, the delegation accused the Slovenian and Croatian authorities of pursuing the policy of national assimilation and of violating the fundamental human and minority rights.

They used the occasion to directly demand Istria's autonomy and an abolition of the Slovenian-Croatian border on the Istrian territory, claiming that the disintegration of former Yugoslavia had endangered their basic national rights, which could be protected if they had the autonomy.

The problem of Istria Italians comes as a result of the 'spreading nationalism in Slovenia and Croatia, which should be feared,' said Bishop Antonio Bonamarco from Gorizia, a town at the Slovenian-Italian border.

'The situation was similar, though less dramatic, at the time of fascism,' said the bishop.

Official Status of Hungarian Language Challenged

LD3010200793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1854 GMT 30 Oct 93

[Text] Ljubljana, October 30 (TANJUG)—A group of Slovenes in Lendava, a region in [words indistinct] of the former Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia where ethnic Hungarians are an autochthonous population, have called on the authorities to eliminate the use of the Hungarian language in documents and on official signs.

The group said in a letter of protest sent to the authorities that an increasing number of Slovenes favoured the abolition of the bilingual principle and wanted Slovene to be the only language in official use.

The Slovene Interior Ministry received the request a few months ago but made it public only a few days ago, trigerring disapproval on the part of ethnic Hungarians.

Hungarian was recognized as an official language in Lendava and the wider region right after World War Two, when Slovenia became a republic as part of the former Yugoslav Federation.

Industrial Production Shows 3.5 Percent Increase

AU2510210493 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 25 Oct 93

[Report by Zdenka Bakalar]

[Text] The companies in September manufactured 3.5 percent more than last year's average. The increase amounted to 16 percent in comparison with the holiday month of August. A greater production in August and September in comparison to these two months last year had a positive influence on the reduction of the cumulative lag. Therefore, this year's eight month lag was 5.5 percent lower, while the nine month lag was 4.7 percent lower than in a comparable period last year.

A greater scope of industrial production in September in comparison with August was particularly noticeable in the manufacture of means of production. More than a third more has been manufactured in comparison with a month before, which is 4 percent more than last September.

The quantity of goods in stock is also decreasing. In comparison with last September, the stocks have shrunk by a little less than 10 percent this year.

A similar trend prevails in employment. The statisticians have calculated that the number of employees in industry, on average, decreases by 0.6 percent in comparison with each previous month. The accelerated job cuts in industry have been going on since the second half of 1992. There were 8 percent less employees in industry this September comparison with last September. Despite all this, the productivity of Slovene industry is growing constantly. In September, productivity was 3.5 percent above the last year's average.

It is apparent from an opinion poll on the problems in industry that the number of those who assessed the situation in foreign counties' orders as good has increased a little in September. Namely, 45 percent of companies involved in the poll gave such an answer. At the same time, 40 percent of companies polled were content with orders for the domestic market.

Federal

Lilic Considers Lifting of Sanctions Main Task

AU2910170893 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Nothing in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has greater priority than the effort to have the sanctions lifted. This was stated by Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, at a festive convention of the Yugoslav Journalists' Association in Pristina, held to mark the journalists' day. Milivoje Mihajlovic reports:

[Mihajlovic] Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, stressed that a more balanced approach to events in the former Yugoslavia and (?unconditional confirmation) of the legitimacy of the Serbian national issue are offering journalists greater chances to win in the struggle for real truth about the Serbian people. The sanctions are our greatest enemy because they are directed against the very being of the Serbian people and the interests of all citizens of Yugoslavia, Lilic said, adding that no task had greater priority than the effort to have the sanctions lifted.

[Lilic] In doing so we must bear in mind the fact that we will most certainly be exposed to much more pressure from outside. The aim is clear, to cause destabilization within our country. By linking the position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the extent to which the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been settled, and lately to the increasingly pronounced attempts to incorporate this issue in the context of the so-called global Yugoslav solution, some key international factors are demonstrating their real interests. This concept is only taking us further away from peace, that is, taking us back to the beginning.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is vitally interested in the soonest possible establishment of peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and, parallel to this, the beginning of the lifting of sanctions. This represents continuity in our policy from the very beginning of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. I am sure that there is no alternative to this policy, it does not exist. Therefore, we will continue to work actively and, to the best of our ability, influence the factions in Bosnia-Herzegovina to reach a peace agreement as soon as possible. Therefore, we think that the Geneva negotiations should be resumed so that the remaining, negligible number of contentious issues can be resolved.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will also extend support to the Republic of Serbian Krajina so that, in negotiations with the Croatia and the mediation of the international community, a satisfactory solution is found. This would certainly create and open up possibilities for the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia, and create preconditions for establishing economic relations on the territory of (?the former) Yugoslavia. For this cooperative and peace-striving policy we must jointly win the broad support of the international democratic public.

[Mihajlovic] It is cynical to expect us, Lilic continued, to look at how we are going to survive the winter with humanitarian aid. We are basically asking to be allowed to import the most necessary raw materials and resources for the production of food, medicines, personal hygiene products, and fuel, Lilic stressed.

He said that at the same time one should also support other programs for development and production that would facilitate a quick recovery after the sanctions have been lifted.

[Lilic] We need capable, stable, and efficient executive authorities to deal with such a major economic and social program, to establish a rule-of-law state and promote the struggle against crime, which is a consequence of the war in neighboring regions, and to deal with war profiteers, a disrupted market, and shortages. These authorities can only function with a stable parliament and full accountability of parliamentary parties.

The stabilization of state government in Serbia will certainly significantly contribute toward improvements in the operation of the federal state. I attach great importance to the December elections and all of us who vote in them have a great responsibility. At the forthcoming elections, your profession will have special responsibility.

[Mihajlovic] The participants in the conference of the Yugoslav Journalists' Association were greeted by Federal Information Minister Slobodan Ignjatovic and Pristina Mayor Novica Stojevic.

Awards for life achievement were also presented. They were given to Predrag Knezevic, a long-time editor at Belgrade Radio, Petar Djuranovic, a journalist and poet from Montenegro, and Nikola Bibic, a legend in Serbian photography.

The conference of the Yugoslav Journalists' Association continues its work with a debate entitled: Journalists, Media and Sanctions.

President Zoran Lilic today also visited Pristina University and held talks with university officials on the prospects of developing higher education in Kosmet [Kosovo-Metohija].

Aid Corridor to Sarajevo Offered

LD0111114693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1035 GMT 1 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic has sent a letter to Willy Claes, president of the EC Council of Ministers and head of Belgian diplomacy. In it, he informs him that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia finds it in its interest to

seeing the the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina normalized as soon as possible and to as high a degree as possible, and to seeing the establishment of a just and lasting peace.

"We want to remind you that to this effect Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic of Srpska, and Fikret Abdic, president of the autonomous province of western Bosnia have agreed to peace, opened borders to regular traffic and cooperation, and guaranteed free movement to all convoys carrying humanitarian aid so that this aid can reach all those who need it without obstruction," Vladislav Jovanovic writes in his letter.

"Unfortunately, a state of peace, normal cooperation, and unhindered access for convoys carrying humanitarian aid is not central Bosnia's reality as yet, something that, to our knowledge, threatens and impedes the delivery of humanitarian aid to Sarajevo and to other towns in central Bosnia."

"Having followed the discussions within the EC and the efforts its countries have made to reopen the Split-Sarajevo corridor to the regular and safe passage of humanitarian convoys, we express our willingness to secure an alternative corridor for all these convoys between Bar and Sarajevo. The advantage of this corridor rests with the fact that it is routed through the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and that of the republic of Srpska where there are no military operations. This fact guarantees convoys and their escorts unhindered access and security."

"We believe that if the EC and the international community as a whole opt for the alternative Bar-Sarajevo corridor, all the problems of delivering aid to the population of Sarajevo will be solved in a simple and time-saving way while those escorting these convoys will no longer face life-threatening risks."

"If the EC accepts this offer, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the republic of Srpska (the Government of the republic of Srpska gave us assurances to this effect today) will be willing to secure its implementation as soon as possible," Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic informed Willy Claes, president of the EC Council of Ministers.

New Federal Elections Not Ruled Out

LD2910173393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1304 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Podgorica, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—Predrag Bulatovic, member of the main committee of the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro [DPS] and head of the DPS deputies' group in the republic's parliament, does not rule out the possibility of, depending on the results of the [parliamentary] election in Serbia, the idea or request arising to hold subsequent federal elections for the Chamber of Citizens of the Yugoslav Assembly.

Bulatovic told TANJUG that political factors in Montenegro cannot be indifferent to the forthcoming elections in Serbia because Montenegro and Serbia form a common state.

However, he believes that the elections in Serbia do not necessarily call for elections in Montenegro. The reasons for calling the elections in Serbia cannot as yet be applied to Montenegro, he stresses.

The DPS has a stable majority in the parliament, it develops and nurtures tolerant and fair relations with other parliamentary deputies' groups, which is why the Montenegrin parliament can function normally, Bulatovic stresses.

He says that it is not unimportant that "truly democratic elections were held" in Montenegro last year "at which the DPS won the confidence of a great number of voters for the fourth time in two years."

Serbia

Milosevic Not in Favor of New Peace Conference

LD3110145093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1312 GMT 31 Oct 93

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Oct (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, the president of the Republic of Serbia, received Thorvald Stoltenberg, the cochairman of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia, in Belgrade today and held lengthy open talks with him.

Views were exchanged regarding the continuation and finalization of the peace process, the president's office said in a statement.

Latest efforts by certain international circles directed at convening a new international conference on the former Yugoslavia, that would have a so-called global approach to the resolution of the crisis, were also discussed.

President Milosevic believes that such attempts are at present making prospects of finally establishing a just peace in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina [even] more distant, and that the international community should not avoid its obligation to exert necessary political influence to take the advantage of a chance for peace offered by the peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

SPO To Boycott Elections if All Opposition Agrees

AU3110141593 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 30 Oct 93

[Interview with Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, by Zeljko Avramovic; in Belgrade on 30 October—recorded]

[Text] [Draskovic] The Serbian Renewal Movement's decision is, inasmuch as possible and with determination, to try to stand by the democratic parliamentary opposition's joint decision to boycott these elections.

[Avramovic] Mr. Draskovic, if everything is leading toward boycotting these elections and you advocate that all parliamentary parties unite in boycotting the elections, why did you then issue a directive to joint committees concerning the formation of the electoral headquarters of the Serbian Renewal Movement?

[Draskovic] That session was held behind closed doors and I do not know where you got the information that the electoral headquarters of the Serbian Renewal Movement has been formed. However, if something to that effect has reached you, then you should know that the electoral headquarters of the Serbian Renewal Movement is going to be an anti-electoral Headquarters of the Serbian Renewal Movement if on 3 November, the entire democratic opposition stands behind the decision and the stand which we demand that elections go forth according to specific conditions.

Parties Seek United Opposition Before Elections

LD2910195093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1558 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—Leaders of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO-Srpski Pokret Obnove], New Democracy [Nova Demokratija], Serbian Liberal Party [Srpska Liberalna Stranka], and the Civic Forum [Gradjanski Savez] have called on other opposition leaders to reach an agreement on the conditions under which they will take part in the elections, a statement forwarded today by SPO to TANJUG says.

The letter sent to the leaders of the Democratic Party of Serbia, the Democratic Party, the Serbian Peasants' Party, and Reform Democratic Party of Vojvodina calls for a meeting and an agreement on "joint conditions which have to be fulfilled for the parties under our leadership to take part in the December elections."

The meeting is expected to take place on 3 November at the Stari Grad municipal assembly building.

The letter says that "unless the blockade of the state television and radio, which present a propaganda service for the [ruling] Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], is lifted, the democratic opposition cannot take part in the elections," and that "there can be no honest elections unless a democratic opposition participates on an equal footing in all election activities, particularly in the supervision of the voting process and in the counting of the votes."

The statement says, among other things: "If we agree that none of our parties will take part in the elections unless the minimum conditions are fulfilled, the president of the republic and the SPS will have to meet our just demands, for they know very well that nobody in Serbia or in the world would recognize elections in which no democratic opposition took part."

Milan Panic Reportedly Leading Opposition

AU3110212593 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Oct 93 p 5

[S.P.-attributed report: "Panic To Head Opposition?"]

[Text] Goran Lapcevic, head of Milan Panic's electoral staff at last year's presidential elections, has told BORBA that he is preparing for Panic's arrival in Krusevac, former capital of the Serbian empire, that the work on the forthcoming electoral campaign is in full swing, and that he expects Milan Panic to come to Serbia soon.

"Milan Panic has announced his political program which at the same time represents a definition of our national program in 10 points. This program is acceptable to all those forces that support a democratic transformation of Serbia and it should represent a platform on which democratic opposition can base its joint approach at the forthcoming elections," Lapcevic said.

Lapcevic, leader of "Student Protest '92," points out that the greatest support is expected to come from businessmen as the main basis of Panic's program is again a successful economy whose main prerequisite is harmonious development of market economy.

"The initial resources for the campaign have already been ensured, because a large number of businessmen are ready to help. The heart of the electoral staff will include people who led Panic's presidential campaign during the previous elections in almost every town," Goran Lapcevic concluded.

Democratic Party Leader Outlines Electoral Program

AU3010215693 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 30 Oct 93

[Interview with Zoran Djindjic, chairman of the Democratic Party Executive Committee, by Zoran Zivkovic on 30 October; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] More than 70 percent of the members of the Democratic Party [DS] Main Committee decided today that Dr. Zoran Djindjic will head the DS lists in all electoral units, which means that he will lead the party during the electoral campaign. However, the DS chairman will be formally decided upon at the electoral convention scheduled for 26 December.

[Zivkovic] What does it mean that you, and not the current chairman, are going to lead the Democratic Party at the elections?

[Djindjic] It means that, at the Main Committee meeting, the majority supported my concept of the DS approach at the coming elections. This is an active concept that includes fewer generalized program stances and yet comes to grips with the people's real life problems.

[Zivkovic] Practically, both Professor Micunovic and you presented your own electoral programs. What do you think was the deciding factor for your concept to win?

[Djindjic] Well, what was decisive was my support to a clear stance on the national issue, a clear stance on social and economic measures, which any party that is ready to participate in exercising power must now present. I think that the people have had enough of stories and cliches. The people should be offered a solution.

[Zivkovic] What is your specific stance on the national issue?

[Djindjic] The specific DS stance that I think should be made more exact [zaostriti] is that everywhere where it was possible to do so, the Serbian people had the right and has the right to have its state, that these states that are in the process of creation should be defended, should be helped, that one should strive toward creating one unified state, and that it is necessary—both in Serbia and in Yugoslavia—to create mechanisms and conditions for us to become stronger and richer and for this state of ours to be able—let me put it this way—to defend that which has been attained and to ensure international recognition of everything that now represents the real state of affairs.

DS To Run in Elections

LD3010181693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1629 GMT 30 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 30 Oct (TANJUG)—The main committee of the Democratic Party [DS] today decided that the party will take part in the forthcoming elections and that Dr. Zoran Djindjic will be the leading candidate on all the DS electoral lists, the party's information service announced. [passage omitted]

Rift Among Leaders Reported

AU2910210493 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Prior to the session of the Main Committee of the Democratic Party scheduled for tomorrow [30 October], which is supposed to decide on whether the party should take part in the forthcoming elections, and under what conditions, party spokesman Bora Kuzamanovic stated at a news conference today that the clash between Dragoljub Micunovic and Zoran Djindjic has to a great extent reduced the party's chances.

The Main Committee of the Democratic Party, in addition to adopting a decision on participation in the upcoming elections, will also discuss an initiative for 30 communal committees calling for vote of no-confidence in Dragoljub Micunovic, president of the party.

Kuzamanovic also stated that the two leaders will come to tomorrow's session of the Main Committee with two different programs. [passage omitted]

People's Party To Participate in Elections

LD2910193193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1409 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Summary] Belgrade, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—Milan Paroski, the chairman of the People's Party [Narodna Stranka], today said that his party will contest the Serbian parliamentary elections on 19 December. The People's Party will present electoral lists in all nine electoral areas.

Milosevic Receives Muslim Delegation From Kosovo

LD2910193893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1414 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today received a delegation of Gora municipality, headed by Harun Hasani, chairman of the municipal assembly.

The Serbian president's office announced that their talks focussed on the experiences and problems encountered in the work of the municipality, whose main residents are Kosovo Muslims.

It was agreed that the forming of the municipality is important for the protection of the residents of Gora, especially the Kosovo Muslims, from pressures by Albanian separatists, because the residents of Gora have proved to be dedicated advocates of the unity of the Republic of Serbia and life together in Kosmet [Kosovo-Metohija] on an equal basis.

It was stressed that a comprehensive development program is of paramount importance for this underdeveloped municipality. The implementation of the program would enable the local community not only to solve its current problems, but also to realize its long-term plans.

Considering their own interests, as well as those of all citizens of our republic, the residents of Gora will again vote at the elections and express their firm commitment to peace and the stability of the Republic of Serbia, to Serbia's economic and cultural development, to the equality and freedom of citizens, and to Serbia's unity.

At the end of the meeting, the representatives of Gora invited President Milosevic to visit their region, which he accepted with delight.

Macedonia

UN Commander Tours Observer Posts in Border Area

LD3010181193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1605 GMT 30 Oct 93

[Text] Skopje, October 30 (TANJUG)—Commander of the U.N. Protection Force in the former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR), General Jean Cot, who on Friday [29 October] arrived on a two-day visit to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), on Saturday

toured a number of UNPROFOR observer posts in the border area toward the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, manned by United States troops.

Gen. Cot also toured UNPROFOR posts on FYROM's western border.

Gen. Cot will on Saturday attend the presentation of medals to members of the U.S. contingent in FYROM, awarded to them for the successful performance of their duties within the U.N. mission.

800 U.S. troops have been included in the UNPROFOR mission in FYROM under the explanation that it is necessary to prevent the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina from spreading to FYROM.

Industrial Production Drops 12.9 Percent

AU3010153793 Skopje MIC in English 29 Oct 93

[Unattributed report: "Reduction of Industrial Production"]

[Text] The drop in the industrial production since the beginning of the year in 27 industrial branches, which comprise 91.1 percent of the structure of the economy, is estimated at 12.9 percent, according to the Bureau of Statistics.

Five industrial branches, which participate with 8.1 percent in the structure of the Macedonian economy, have noted a production increase. These are the production of coal, of oil derivatives, the production of ore and non-ferrous metals, the production of livestock food and the field of graphics.

Kosovo

Rugova Rejects Appeal To Vote at Elections

LD2910120993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1037 GMT 29 Oct 93

[Text] Pristina, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [DSK], spoke out today against the appeal to Kosovo Albanians by Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to vote at the forthcoming December elections.

Asked at a press conference in Pristina about the Yugoslav president's invitation to a possible meeting, Rugova briefly said that he opposes "sporadic" meetings, but favors "direct talks which need to be prepared in advance."

Lilic's invitation was commented on at length by DSK Deputy Chairman Fehmi Agani, who said that this is "not a serious invitation" and that it "is not directed at the Albanians."

Agani said that before any serious meeting with representatives of the Serbian authorities and discussion of the Albanians' participation in the elections, "the blockade of Pristina television" must be lifted, "Albanian workers should be reemployed, and the repression should stop."

Commenting on the announcement of an international conference and a global approach to solving the Yugoslav crisis, DSK leader Rugova said that "the conference can succeed only if it makes possible and ensures that all sides are directly represented and treated equally."